

FBIS**DAILY REPORT
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KARPOV SAYS PERSHING-1A'S MAY IMPEDE SUMMIT

LD251214 Moscow TASS in English 1125 GMT 25 August 87

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS -- Keen debates are under way in the Federal Republic of Germany over the questions of what role the Pershing-1A missile problem can play as regards holding a meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Washington and whether this problem will be of consequence to holding a Soviet-American summit meeting.

A TASS diplomatic correspondent put the same questions today to Viktor Karpov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Arms Limitation and Disarmament Department. The latter offered this reply:

The Soviet Union is for a Soviet-American summit meeting. We take the view that periodic contacts between the leaders of the two great powers are forums that make it possible to analyze the state of relations between the USSR and the United States in depth and comprehensively and to look for ways of improving them and for solutions to major security problems on a global scale.

The Geneva and Reykjavik meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan have borne this out. The Reykjavik meeting has demonstrated, in particular, that there is a possibility to open the door to the nuclear-free world and search for ways of cutting the nuclear arms of the USSR and the United States substantially.

The most advanced issue at Soviet-American talks in Geneva at present is that of drafting a treaty for eliminating Soviet and American medium-range and shorter-range missiles and nuclear warheads for them on a global scale.

However, there are impediments in the way of work to hammer out this agreement. There are difficulties in discussing also other important matters -- an accord for strengthening the regime of the ABM Treaty and an accord for halving the strategic offensive arms of the USSR and the United States.

So can one talk about preparing a summit meeting without taking into account the state of talks between the USSR and the United States on the central problems of global security? Hardly, especially as the next meeting should be prepared so as to be productive.

Much significance in preparing the summit meeting belongs to the meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. It needs to be thoroughly prepared as well.

The resolution of the problems on the agenda of that meeting should be prepared in advance. For this, it is essential to solve the problem of American warheads for West German Pershing-1A missiles.

This is why those attempting to play down the impact which the Pershing-1A's can have on the preparation of a Soviet-American accord for eliminating the Soviet and American medium-range and shorter-range missiles should be aware of the following: The point effectively is that the American warheads for the West German Pershing-1A missiles may prove the obstacle that will make it impossible to organize a fruitful meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in Washington and, consequently, a Soviet-American summit meeting.

KALYAGIN ON SHULTZ-SHEVARDNADZE TALKS, ARMS ACCORD

LD241653 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video talk by Political Observer Boris Kalyagin]

[Text] The world press is paying more attention to the meeting between USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State Shultz, scheduled for mid-September. During these talks a final accord might be reached concerning a draft agreement on the global elimination of all Soviet and U.S. medium-range and operational and tactical missiles. In its turn, this would help resolve the question of a new summit meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Time, however, does not stand still and the closer the awaited dialogue becomes, the more doubts surface as to whether it will take place at all. It is the U.S. side's position that has become the reason for this. It is a fossilized and openly destructive position. The United States continues to refuse to discuss the question of eliminating its nuclear warheads for the 72 Pershing-1A missiles belonging to the West German Bundeswehr.

Could it really be the case, certain Western observers ask with emotion, that talks on eliminating 2,000 nuclear warheads can be deadlocked because of some 72 obsolete missiles? This question should be asked of the U.S. Administration and its Bonn partner and, moreover, ought to be asked more precisely. After all, the delay is not caused by the West German Pershing-1A missiles with which the FRG is free to do what it wants; the matter revolves around the U.S. nuclear warheads for them. It is these warheads that ought to be subject to destruction if a double zero option agreement is signed.

As for the United States, it is trying by hook or crook to set these outside the framework of an accord. THE WASHINGTON TIMES daily, referring to a conversation with a high-ranking U.S. Administration representative, even goes so far as to assert that President Reagan would sooner leave his post without having signed an agreement with our country than give up the warheads for the FRG's missiles.

The question then arises: Is Washington officialdom interested in attaining a mutually acceptable agreement? However, the matter is confined not confined merely to the warheads for the Pershings. The United States is unwilling to fully eliminate its cruise missiles deployed in Western Europe. It merely proposes that nuclear warheads on them be replaced with non nuclear ones. This, however, would leave a loophole open to preserving nuclear capability -- after all, it would, in practice, be very difficult to verify [kontrol] which warheads are mounted on the missiles, with or without nuclear charges.

The Americans also insist that we should be the first to begin reductions of our missiles; that we should make the number of our warheads on medium-range missiles correspond to the number of the U.S. total deployed in Western Europe, and that only then would the United States join us in this. That is to say, according to Washington's designs, we would for 2-3 years unilaterally reduce our arms, while the United States would monitor us [kontrol], likewise unilaterally. This option is, of course, unacceptable. We offer reductions on the basis of equal percentages. Let us say that during the first 3 years each side would reduce the number of its missiles by 50 percent.

If this fails to suit the Americans, we offer yet another solution: Let all nuclear warheads at first be removed from medium-range missiles within 1 year. Thus, even though these weapons would be preserved in their positions, they would not be in a state of combat readiness.

We are ready to steer a course for sensible compromises and concessions, but we draw the line somewhere, and it is defined by equal security of both sides. We have already gone our half of the way and maybe even a bit further. The answer is now up to the United States.

DELEGATE COMPARES PACT, NATO STANDS AT ARMS TALKS

LD241956 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS -- Consultations between representatives of the Warsaw-Treaty and NATO countries on working out a mandate for talks on cutting the armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals will be resumed in Vienna in September, and next stage of the follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) will begin.

In this connection Viktor Tatarnikov, representative of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, member of the Soviet delegation at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and at the consultations between Warsaw-Treaty and NATO countries, said the following in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

"Inclusion of tactical nuclear weapons, with tactical strike aviation among them, in the subject-matter of talks, and the determination of a cutback area are the most complex problems which give rise to principled differences."

"The stand of the Warsaw Treaty countries is simple and understandable: It envisages a cut in all components of land forces and tactical strike aviation of European countries as well as in the respective forces and systems of the United States and Canada deployed in Europe, together with their organic armament and combat hardware in conjunction with tactical nuclear systems".

"If one compares this clear-cut stand with NATO's concept of the talks, a strange detail strikes the eye: NATO would like to exclude tactical nuclear systems, including tactical strike aviation, from the talks".

"No provision for mutual reductions is made either. Practically, they speak of only land forces and of removing 'disbalances' at the expense of the Warsaw Treaty countries".

"Common sense suggests that it is impossible to consider 'dual-purpose systems' at different talks".

"If one really strives for the establishment of stability in Europe, it is essential to reduce all components of both land forces and tactical strike aviation in their aggregate".

"It is impossible to seek the elimination of the offensive potential of the sides (as NATO countries' mandate envisages it) without reducing or eliminating tactical nuclear systems, including tactical strike aviation".

"Representatives of NATO countries state that the Soviet Union ostensibly has superiority in tactical nuclear arms and strike aviation. The Soviet Union and its allies precisely suggest eliminating disparities that exist in some components on the one and the other side".

"Why then does the other side refuse to consider these components? Apparently because, in actual fact, the United States and NATO have superiority in those components".

"At the talks the Warsaw Treaty countries are prepared to consider and eliminate disparities during a reduction in all components of land forces and tactical strike aviation. Not only in tanks, as NATO countries suggest, but also in tactical aviation, nuclear artillery, tactical missiles, and other types of arms and combat hardware".

"Stability in Europe is indivisible. It cannot be either conventional or nuclear. What the Europeans need is overall stability, excluding first of all the threat of nuclear war in Europe", Viktor Tatarikov emphasized.

CHERNYSHEV VIEWS WEINBERGER REMARKS ON SDI

LD241619 Moscow TASS in English GMT 1617 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS -- TASS military analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger has once again tried to "substantiate" the need for a speeded-up realisation of the "Star Wars" programme, and stated that a "first phase deployment" of the SDI could begin as early as 1994 or 1995.

In an article published in THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper recently, the U.S. secretary of defence virtually debunked the main "myth" of the SDI's "benefits" to mankind, the myth which had been earlier made use of by himself and President Ronald Reagan.

The dream of SDI, as it was visualized by Washington from the very outset -- the dream of an "impenetrable missile shield" for the United States and its allies -- has fully given way to a "partially effective defence".

Mr Weinberger, not embarrassed in the least, now refers to the dream itself as a "strategic extreme" and a "classic straw man" which was ostensibly invented by SDI opponents to prove that the programme is not feasible.

Neither does the Pentagon chief need "exotic" systems of space weapons. The main thing for him is to deploy in space if only some types of weapons as soon as possible. Serving as a "cover" is the thesis about "phased" deployment of SDI, for "a complete defensive system cannot be deployed overnight".

He completely forgot the U.S. President's declarative statement known to the whole world that if strategic defensive systems are combined with offensive ones, they can be viewed upon as a factor promoting an aggressive policy.

Ronald Reagan's above-mentioned statement was followed by assertion that the United States did not want that. Mr Weinberger now says explicitly that the USA not only wants it but, actually, craves for it.

"Deterrence, strategic stability and arms reductions all could benefit from a first SDI phase", U.S. secretary of defence maintains unfoundedly.

Quite a number of specialists, political figures and experts, not only around the world but also directly in the United States itself, point out the danger of such a situation. The establishment of such an anti-missile defence system, they argue, would signify the preparation of a technical basis for the conduct of nuclear war, which in its turn would make it possible to speak of nuclear war as a "thinkable" one. Hence there would be one step to "legalizing" a political decision to unleash a nuclear conflict.

The Pentagon's "strategic design" is quite clear. Firstly, to upgrade the American strategic offensive capability, to upset the military-strategic parity, and to ensure the possibility of delivering a first "disarming" nuclear strike against the Soviet Union. This is precisely the aim for the sake of which the accuracy and power of U.S. nuclear systems are being enhanced.

Secondly, to deploy new U.S. strategic space-based forces designed to hit targets on the ground, in the atmosphere and in outer space, thereby multiplying offensive capabilities of the strategic forces of "classic" type.

According to U.S. specialists, space strike weapons deployed under SDI could be used for strikes from space against aircraft, ships, tankers, oil and gas storage facilities, chemical plants, command posts, communications and control centres, and so on.

Thirdly, to protect the USA with an anti-missile "shield" (even if that would be an imperfect one). In a certain manner reducing the Soviet Union's capabilities for a retaliatory strike.

An ineffective strategic defence system, which does not reduce damage from a massive attack down to an "acceptable level", is obviously needed by the one who is not supposed to expect such a strike.

Such a system is needed for defence against a weakened retaliatory strike.

With this end in view, a 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive potentials of the sides, which Washington representatives speak of so much now, would 'suit' the Pentagon quite well: Such a cutback would make it possible to raise SDI's effectiveness in intercepting the other side's missiles that would remain after their preliminary reduction and the delivery of a "disarming" strike.

Caspar Weinberger himself stated earlier that if the USA gets a system which would render the Soviet Union's arms "useless", the USA would be able to return to the situation when it was the only country possessing nuclear weapons.

Can, in the light of all this, an arms reduction process be of "benefit", as Mr Weinberger maintains, as a result of the deployment of a first phase of SDI? No, of course, it cannot.

In such conditions the USSR will not go to a reduction of its strategic offensive potential, and it will not with its own hands help the USA in weakening it. To count on that is an absolutely prospectless thing.

As far as strategic stability is concerned, it would obviously turn into its opposite. The impossibility of a confident strategic planning and an unpredictable development of events would lead to the need to take decisions as quickly as possible in any critical or near critical situation, decisions which may prove fatal to universal peace.

What kind of "the strengthening of deterrence" can one speak of? Nuclear war may break out not only as a result of a deliberate decision but also of attempts at (?blackmail) or a wrong estimate by one side of the intentions or actions of the other side, and as the consequence of someone's unconsidered act brought about by a sudden aggravation of the situation.

The danger of an outbreak of nuclear war as a result of error, technical malfunction of sophisticated computer devices controlling the SDI system should not be written off either.

So, Washington's tactic of "shielding" the SDI changes: The "myths" created by the White House and the Pentagon are being debunked, and other ones are being built in their place.

However, real dangers posed to the world by the plans and practical deeds of "Star Wars" crusaders remain the same.

STATE DEPARTMENT DENIES CLAIM ON U.S. NUCLEAR TEST

LD242244 Moscow TASS in English 2232 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Washington August 25 TASS -- TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reporting:

Journalists in the U.S. capital are discussing the statement conveyed to the U.S. Department of State by the Soviet Embassy in Washington Friday [21 August]. The statement called serious attention to an instance of violation by the U.S. of the 1974 treaty limiting the yield of nuclear explosions by a threshold of 150 kilotons -- the instance registered by Soviet seismic systems during a nuclear test in Nevada August 13.

During a briefing in the U.S. State Department Monday reporters asked for comments on the matter.

State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley made a statement saying categorically that the yield of the Nevada explosion, according to the U.S. data, had not surpassed 150 kilotons.

Asked about different readings of the Soviet seismic systems and pressed on the issue whether instruments, including American systems, could be trusted in such cases at all, Oakley gave reporters a rather vague answer, referring to differences in calibration and citing other reasons.

She tried to ascribe to the Soviet statement the aim of distracting attention from the Soviet nuclear test explosion on the island of Novaya Zemlya August 2 -- a test allegedly accompanied by a release of radioactivity registered beyond the boundaries of the Soviet territory.

PETROVSKIY UN NEWS CONFERENCE ON PERSIAN GULF

LD241948 Moscow TASS in English 1848 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 24 TASS -- Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy held a press conference at the United Nations Headquarters today to draw attention to the disquieting situation in the Persian Gulf.

The unprecedented buildup of naval presence by the United States and some other NATO countries in a relatively small area already affected by war posed a real threat of the escalation of the military confrontation, he said.

"Actions of this kind increase the degree of unpredictability in the development of the situation and enhance the probability of dangerous accidents that might cause an explosion."

"The U.S. actions undermine the product of collective effort by all members of the Security Council expressed in their jointly adopted Resolution 598, specifically its provision calling for maximum restraint and abstention from any actions that may lead to the further escalation and broadening of the conflict," Petrovskiy said.

"Instead of facilitating the earliest implementation of the Security Council resolution, some Council members are following a course towards thwarting its fulfillment.

These countries are setting up logjams in the way of implementing the mandatory decision, a decision which they helped to elaborate and for which they voted."

"The following conclusion can be drawn: Those who are heightening tensions in the Gulf, hindering a ceasefire and kindling the conflict, display open disregard for the collective unanimous decision of the Security Council charged by the U.N. Charter with chief responsibility for maintaining international peace and security."

"It is our profound conviction," the deputy minister said, "that the current volatile situation demands that all states display a responsible and balanced approach and constructive cooperation.

It is necessary to continue the diplomacy of persistent efforts directed at removing the most dangerous focus of tension.

It is important to create corresponding conditions to make the U.N. secretary-general's mediatory mission a success and facilitate his establishing a dialogue with the parties involved in the conflict."

"The implementation of Resolution 598, unanimously endorsed by the Security Council, would pave the way for the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war and the defusion of the situation in the region.

The Soviet Union, as repeatedly indicated, is seeking to facilitate the earliest normalization of the situation in the strategic region situated in direct proximity to our borders."

"The realization of Mikhail Gorbachev's proposal for holding multi-lateral talks with a view to working out guarantees of security for sea communications in the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, in combination with the guarantees of sovereignty of the coastal nations over their natural resources, would be an important contribution to this effort."

"As to the threat posed by mines in the Gulf area, the Soviet Union remains a resolute advocate of the freedom of navigation and condemns actions endangering this freedom, including mining.

We believe it is necessary to start the search for a solution to the problem of demining within the context of international efforts to improve the situation in the region on the whole.

Such efforts, of course, should be combined with the withdrawal of the navies of the countries which are not of the Persian Gulf, except mine-sweepers which would remain in the Gulf for a certain agreed upon period to remove the mines and create conditions for peaceful navigation."

In conclusion, Petrovskiy emphasized the need for specific measures directed at reversing the dangerous escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf and achieving the earliest implementation of Resolution 598 in the interests of ending the Iran-Iraq war.

Meets With Iraqi Official

LD250259 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0238 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] New York, 25 Aug (TASS) -- A conversation took place on 24 August between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Ambassador Ismat Kittani, head of the Iraqi delegation to the conference on disarmament and development.

During the conversation the two sides exchanged views on the problems being discussed by the international conference concerning the links between disarmament and development, as well as on other questions, including the tense situation in the Persian Gulf and the ending of the Iran-Iraq war.

Meets With Iranian Minister

LD250348 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0322 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] New York, 25 Aug (TASS) -- A meeting took place on 24 August between Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Mohammad Larijani, Iranian deputy minister of foreign affairs. The two sides viewed the activity of the international conference concerning the link between disarmament and development, as well as other problems of mutual interest, including the explosive situation in the Persian Gulf.

DISARMAMENT-DEVELOPMENT CONFERENCE OPENS 24 AUG

LD242114 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 25 TASS -- Disarmament is essential to both the developing and developed countries, stated U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar when he declared open the first international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development on Monday.

He pointed out a particular importance of such conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. talks on medium-range missiles as soon as possible. [sentence as received]

'TOP PRIORITY' ON CENTRAL AMERICAN PEACE PLAN

LD222051 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 21 Aug 87

["Top Priority" program with Dr Radomir Bogdanov and Dr Sergey Plekhanov of the United States of America and Canada Institute, Moscow, presented by Vladimir Pozner]

[Text] [Pozner] The subject today on "Top Priority": the Central American peace plan, and what is going to happen there. This is a major issue. We have not looked at Central America for quite a while, I believe. I think the time has come to do it. What is the situation there, gentlemen? How do you assess the peace plan proposed and actually agreed upon by the ministers of the Central American countries? What is the U.S. equation, because it certainly is an important one? Dr Bogdanov, would you care to kick this off?

[Bogdanov] Vladimir, before we start talking about the situation let me say something about the conceptual side of the thing. As a researcher, as a professor of international relations, I have a tendency whenever it is necessary, and even when it is not necessary [laughter], to create a theory....

[Pozner, interrupting] All right, let's have a theory. Absolutely.

[Bogdanov] So, first of all I believe that we have to deal with the usual situation when the domestic difficulties of the incumbent administration being resolved with the help of foreign policy actions aimed at creating a tension, a tension of such a level that all domestic difficulties and, first of all, the difficulties between the administration and the Congress are turned in such a way that they, that the administration has an upper hand. So I would prefer to look at the Central American situation from that view, above all in this particular....

[Pozner, interrupting] In other words, you are saying that the Central American situation is being used by the present U.S. Administration as a means of diverting attention from domestic issues?

[Bogdanov] That's what I mean. You may not agree with me fully, but let me state another fact of life which I believe would be recognizable by everybody. The so-called Central American problem has been created by this administration, not by the events over there, they have created that, and if you analyze their behavior you will see that at the certain stages of the political development they were acting in, in the ways proper just to confirm my theory. That's number one. Number two: You have (?a qualitatively) to my mind different situation now which is even... [Bogdanov changes thought] Frankly, I'm very much surprised. You for number of years, you had the lead of America in political field in the Central America. I mean by that that all the solutions or nonsolutions were suggested by the big brother, by big America, and the rest of the Central America just had to take the lead, just to (?halt) the big uncle. But this time you have quite a different situation. You have a plan offered by American, Central American presidents, by the people from the Central America. What is the meaning of that fact? I would like us sitting around this table just to look at the meaning of this. Does it mean that the prevailing role of big brother is taking an end in the Central America?

[Pozner] Is that it? [word indistinct]. Are they?

[Bogdanov] You know, Sergey, as a researcher, that is the main problem.

[Pozner] Is big brother no longer a factor, or is taking the back seat now?

[Plekhanov] Well, it's being pushed around a little bit because it's, it is, it bears [words indistinct]. Big brother, the United States, bears responsibility, direct responsibility, for the trouble in Central America. And I don't just mean the political trouble, I mean the economic trouble. Now the area, the region that we're talking about is a place where there's abject hunger, underdevelopment. Lots of people are suffering because of the economic situation, because of the huge problems that those countries have had with the world economy, with their underdevelopment. And, of course, they are clamoring for a change, I mean people in those countries, and they would like to see orderly, democratic change. They would like to improve their standard of living. They would like to improve their position in world markets, and all those concerned are legitimate. But the United States has been frustrating those efforts of those countries at self-determination, greater democracy, because they are afraid that if those countries are more independent, both domestically and internationally, then the United States would lose its foothold, would lose its economic control.

[Pozner] You're aware of the fact that the Americans, the U.S. Administration and the conservative elements, and not even so conservative elements have always said that communism is responsible for unrest in Latin America, and the Soviet Union and Cuba are the real culprits who exported revolution and fomented revolution.

[Bogdanov] If you follow that logic, you just say then that the peace plan offered by five Central American presidents are sponsored by communists, and all of them they are communist. Because, maybe for the first time in the recent history you have a plan which is, which differs very much from the desires of the big uncle. So there is only one explanation: That's sponsored by the communists. And all of them are hidden communists. They are front-runners. You know, there is no other way out to explain it.

[Plekhanov] Yes, and also if you follow that logic then that means that the Catholic Church, or a large part of the Catholic Church in Central America, in Latin America in general, has gone communist, because they are very, very active elements of clergy, in fact the majority of Catholic clergy in those countries are supporting those movements for national liberation, for social change, which the United States is actively opposed to. In fact, in the Nicaraguan Government some of the top positions are occupied by Jesuits.

[Pozner] Don't you think that a case might be made for the United States being the culprit who has fomented revolution and uprisings in Latin America, because had it not been for companies like United Fruit and for people like John D. Rockefeller who exploited the natural resources, the economies of those countries, supported the most corrupt oppressive regimes, creating limitless, enormous wealth for a few, and abject poverty and misery for the majority, don't you think that there would never have been this situation?

[Plekhanov] Oh, absolutely. I have recently come across a report by an organisation in the United States which is called Council on the Americas. They've computed the amount. They compared the amounts of American aid that various countries in Latin America have received and the level of human rights abuses in those countries, and there's a direct link, and amazing linkage, so the worst human rights violators on the American continents are the greatest beneficiaries of the American aid. Now you may argue where the cause is, where the effect is, but no matter what would you say about it, it does look like an indictment of the American policy in Latin America.

[Bogdanov] And there is another proof of what you have said just now. You take, for instance, Nicaraguan contras. They are the biggest human rights violators and they are the biggest killers, and they are supported by American taxpayers' money. That puzzles me really. On one hand the American Administration and people outside the administration, but known as human rights fighters, everywhere in the world, but except Nicaragua, (?right). [sentence as heard] And you, you, I, I just regret to call your attention to what you have said already; that's very, very interesting point. More money these gangsters get from American Congress, more crimes they commit. Where is the moral, where is the moral? And it comes to my mind that somebody said once that these contras, they are like founding fathers.

[Plekhanov] I think it was President Reagan who said that.

[Pozner] Just for your information, recently a senior Reagan administration official, it was discovered that senior officials of the Reagan administration had approved a plan -- I think it was in early 1984 -- under which the contras would receive training and equipment paid for by the Government of South Africa, which is also of course, we know, a great champion of civil rights and also, I think one of the contributors was South Korea.

[Bogdanov] That's very logical, very logical. It fits very much to what Sergey has said.

[Pozner] Yes, getting back to the Central American peace plan, what in your opinion are its chances of succeeding, and to what extent is the U.S. Government a) going to try to torpedo it, b) going to ignore it simply and not really try to do anything about it, and c) try to really make it work? What is your preview?

[Bogdanov] My idea, my point is that it would not be very easy for this administration just to reject that plan. It's really even offensive if they don't take into consideration the opinions of five presidents of the neighboring, of Central American countries. They, America, they will have to manifest some level of respect to their opinion. That's number one. Number two, they will have to take into consideration the mood prevailing now in all these trouble spots. And to my mind, the mood is very much in favor of peaceful solution of those problems, on the base of compromise. Mind you, not that one side prevails over the other, but on the base of compromise. But at the same time I do not believe that in this situation this administration is just capable to deliver any constructive ideas, but just to try to keep that plan in suspense for some time, on one hand, just to demonstrate that they're in favor, but in the same time trying to build up enough tension to make Congress to pay for all these crimes that have been committed, that's my first reaction to your question.

[Pozner] OK, but I mean this, do you predict, either of you, do you predict that the plan will not really get American support until a new administration is voted in, or do you think that this administration will wait a little while and then act against it very strongly? You know, how do you see the future?

[Plekhanov] You see, it is a very complex picture. I think that there are groups within the administration. Some elements in the State Department, as I see it, would be prepared to support the plan. The President himself has committed himself to the overthrowing of the Sandinista Government. He has repeated, reiterated that commitment of his, and according to some analysts, that's one of his major goals. If he fails in that goal, he will look upon himself as a failure.

[Bogdanov] It (? led) to the appointment of Judge Bork.

[Plekhanov] And if that is the case, if President Reagan has not gone back on his idea that overthrowing Sandinistas is very important, the top priority for the U.S. policy, then it is logical to assume that he would be against supporting a plan which would mean a compromise with the Sandinistas. But, you see, on the other hand, the Sandinista Government is officially recognised by the U.S. Government, they have diplomatic relations between themselves, and the whole picture of the United States supplying military assistance to those forces within Nicaragua who are trying, or outside Nicaragua, who are trying to topple a government which you recognize, in which you have your own embassy. You know, against the background of international law, it looks abysmal and I'm sure that history will record that abysmality in good time; in fact, a lot of people see it already now. But as far as there are powerful forces within the administration committed to the overthrow of the Nicaraguan Government come hell or high water, there are some people who are prepared to send American troops right in there, and I assume that they will be pressing their case on the President. So long as this is the case, it will be very difficult for any peacemakers to work for peace in Central America. But on the other hand, there is no alternative.

[Pozner] What will you do with the contras? What do you do with the contras? Let's say that you offer peace, let's say that you want the plan to work. Let's imagine that. What do you do with the contras? Dump them in the ocean I mean, or [passage indistinct] I'm joking. What do you do with the contras in that case, do you think that they....

[Bogdanov interrupting] My feeling is that a great compromise for that very hot spot in the region is in the air. That's my feeling.

[Pozner] So you do, you think...

[Bogdanov] Yeah, so and in any case my feeling is that the other side is willing for a compromise.

[Pozner] The other side being who?

[Bogdanov] Being in power.

[Plekhanov] The other side, the Sandinista Government. Of course, look in El Salvador, the revolutionaries in El Salvador are now negotiating with the government. So they're also offering.

[Pozner] So should we interpret your words then, when I say we, I mean myself and our audience, should we interpret your words as saying that you are basically optimistic, that you believe that the peace plan has a good chance of succeeding because of all of what you've mentioned? Would you care to give me a yes or no answer?

[Bogdanov] Yes, I would I would give you yes answer.

[Pozner] Well, that's from you especially, Dr Bogdanov, that's quite thrilling. I mean you're the man who usually says: No, I'm very pessimistic, and here we get a yes. What about you, Dr Plekhanov?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think the chances look better now than even 6 months ago, the chances for a peaceful settlement, but it's really difficult for me to imagine any peaceful settlement in the near future. There are too many obstacles in Washington to be overcome.

[Pozner] You're (?dogging) my thoughts, as they used to say. I mean, here you've switched, you've switched positions. You're the man now who's being pessimistic, and Dr Bogdanov is being optimistic. At any rate, it is definitely a highly interesting situation when indeed these five Central American governments have taken this initiative, have agreed upon a peace plan and in a way, at least, are putting a lot of pressure on the U.S. Government to support it, because as you said, I believe, Dr Bogdanov, there is no way that the U.S. Government can simply ignore it. That's for sure. Well, time will show.

I'd like to remind our listeners that they've been tuned to "Top Priority." With me on the panel today were Drs Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov of Moscow United States of America and Canada Studies Institute. Your host was Vladimir Pozner. We cordially invite you all to join us a week from today at the same time.

Incidentally, if there are any specific areas that you would like us to look into, we'd be delighted, and if you'd like to send in some tapes of your questions, your comments, if you want to debate us on tape, we'd be glad to use that too. Once again, thank you on behalf of "Top Priority."

TASS COMPARES U.S. IN LEBANON, PERSIAN GULF

LD241616 Moscow TASS in English 1537 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS -- By TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev:

The fifth anniversary since the landing of American troops in West (?Beirut) on August 25, which amounted to U.S. direct military interference in Lebanon, prompts associations with the present build-up by the U.S. Administration of its forces in the Persian Gulf. Both cases are largely similar and sinister in the sense that the White House pushes ahead with the build-up of tensions and steers the course to an armed conflict. The lessons of the Lebanese aggression by the USA seem to be forgotten. Let us remind that the landing of the first group of American Marines took place on August 25, 1982, but the preparation for the actual occupation of Lebanon started as early as November 1981. It was at that time the USA and Israel signed the memorandum on the so-called "strategic cooperation."

This memorandum united Tel Aviv's hands, and its troops invaded Lebanon on June 6, 1981. Between July and August the Israeli troops started a siege of West Beirut, which was joined by the American troops.

Although President Reagan assured the Congress and the American public that the American forces would not take part in hostilities, the Marines opened fire on Lebanese in the area of Beirut airport already five days after the Marines had landed. The Lebanese coast was blocked by the U.S. naval fleet. Thirty combat ships, including aircraft carriers Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy and Independence, were amassed in the eastern Mediterranean. The battleship New Jersey which has 16-inch guns was also used to shell Lebanese settlements. This is the general outline of the escalation of the U.S. armed interference -- from peace statements to armed actions.

What is the U.S. Administration after in the Persian Gulf area, where it acts on the pattern of the Lebanese adventure? Around forty warships have been concentrated there and in adjacent regions, a new operational command was set up and the central command of the Rapid Deployment Force was used. On the whole, the stage is set for the war. The guns are expected to fire any moment.

The Marines are on the ships. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the new operational command expects that the need for the participation of ground forces in the operation will grow. The Pentagon, on the whole, is preparing itself for a long stay in the Persian Gulf. Let us recall that in Lebanon Washington in fact aimed to occupy it for a long period of time, at least until a government, agreeable to Washington, was set up there. In other words, to create a bridgehead in Lebanon for control over the situation in the entire region.

The American press continues to write today that the Reagan administration seeks to display its intention to keep American forces in the Persian Gulf for a long, indefinite period of time. In fact, the administration of the White House again resorts to force in order to change the situation in the region so that it was fully dependent on the policy of the White House. Lebanon's experience, however, showed that when the American guns start firing, the Americans also suffer considerable losses. This experience should not be forgotten.

FURTHER ON CIA'S 'PROVOCATIVE' BALTIC CAMPAIGN

PM241439 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Aug 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS-attributed article: "Baltic Region in CIA's Sights"]

[Text] Moscow [dateline as published] -- The young Latvian sculptor Karlis Zale was one of the first to respond to the Lenin Decree on Monument Propaganda adopted in April 1918. He planned a composition with a communard at the center which was to be erected in Riga. Although the counterrevolution prevented this, the idea of a monument to freedom lived on.

In 1931 K. Zale's idea was approved and the erection of the monument began. In it the sculptor expressed the desire for freedom felt by his people, who had languished for centuries under the yoke of German barons and the tsarist autocracy. This is reaffirmed by the bas-reliefs depicting a clash between 1905 revolution fighters and a punitive detachment and Latvian red riflemen fighting the German invaders and Bermond's gangs. The motherland's sword and shield face west, and the faces of the heroes who broke the fetters of slavery and people taking part in a singing festival are turned toward the east.

Did the people who took part 14 June in the so-called demonstration at the Freedom Monument -- an action obviously planned by Western special services -- understand the intention of the sculptor who took to heart Lenin's ideas of monument propaganda and Great October? By gathering here, they unwittingly played into the hands of those who tried to whip up this event into an anti-Soviet orgy.

The indignation of Riga's inhabitants aroused by the "demonstrators'" political shortsightedness has hardly had time to cool down before foreign radio stations once more broadcast appeals to inhabitants of the Baltic region to take to the streets once again. "Voices" -- maintained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency -- have begun a new provocative campaign.

Who is at the lying microphones? One of them is professional provocateur Algis Klimaytis, who was born in Hamburg and now lives in France. In 1983 the USSR Foreign Ministry received an inquiry from the Hamburg Prosecutor's Office concerning Algirdas Klimaytis -- the father of the present-day "rights campaigner." The inquiry concerned his participation in punitive actions against people of Jewish nationality in Kaunas. There is no need to ask any questions here about his son's upbringing.

Certain nationalist elements with a criminal past living in the Baltic region echo the Western radio voices. A few days ago VOA reported that a group of Latvian "rights campaigners," loudly calling themselves the "Helsinki-86" group, sent an appeal to the editorial office in which they announced the intention to conduct the next gathering 23 August. One of its members, Linards Grantinsh, who incidentally is serving a sentence for evading his patriotic duty -- military service -- jointly with his "colleagues" states in it that the foundation of each people's independence is being laid among emigres. In others they write that there is little that can be done in the motherland. Liepaya, in their words, is so filthy that it is already on the brink of an epidemic. Women in the Baltic region work against their will, and the republics are heading for a catastrophic situation against their will.

The group's racist essence is demonstrated by its recent tearful cry, once again directed at the West, in which it demands the elimination of industrial sectors that are "nontraditional" for the republic, thus turning it into an agrarian adjunct of the capitalist countries. The desire of the "Helsinki-86" members to expel "illegal immigrants" from Latvia reeks of arrant nationalism. What is this if not racism?

Every word is a lie. But in the West they willingly believe this and it is quickly extolled by the renegades, sometimes to the point of absurdity. Thus VOA broadcasts have repeatedly paid homage to the name of Antanas Terlyatskas. The radio station announced that he signed an "appeal" on the holding of the latest gathering in Vilnius. In the words of A. Terlyatskas himself, he does not know what this is about. This is how the radio saboteurs recruit their "sympathizers."

Provocation is the Western "voices'" main speciality. They played their impartial [nelitsepriyatnuyul] role in Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and in Poland not so long ago. Now, it would seem, their sights have been trained on the Baltic region.

The United States is conducting this shameful chorus. The U.S. Senate and House of Representatives have proclaimed 14 June "Baltic Freedom Day." At a joint session of the Senate and House of Representatives they decided that they recognize the continuing desire of the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian peoples for freedom and independence from domination by the USSR and will continue to "use every opportunity to support the Baltic peoples' rights."

Ignoring generally recognized international norms, the U.S. legislators went even further. The Soviet Embassy in Washington received a letter from a group of senators representing states where a significant number of emigres from the Baltic region live. It is clear why they did this -- they depend on their votes, and therefore they "sing" accordingly.

What is being demanded by the U.S. legislators, who have torn themselves away from their own affairs and problems? Nothing less than our country's observance of human rights. They are graciously taking under their wing all future participants in and organizers of "peaceful gatherings," citing the USSR Constitution in this respect. While telling competent Soviet organs what to do, the senators who are fighting for the observance of human rights forget their own interference in our internal affairs. They are making the demonstrations planned by the Western voices the "touchstone" of observance of our constitutional freedoms. But this, gentlemen, contradicts the spirit of the Helsinki Accords, about whose observance you are so concerned.

That's how they solve our internal affairs overseas. A grouping of "champions of rights" who nobody has ever heard of is being put forward as representative of peoples. In passing, in not even reviewing the sensibleness of what they are saying, they are accusing the USSR of exercising domination over...itself. The Baltic region is part of the country. Politically short-sighted people sometimes allow the babblers on the radio to lead them by the nose. Isn't it time for them to think seriously about their actions?

PRESIDENT SENDS 'PERSONAL MESSAGE' TO NICARAGUANS

LD250804 Moscow TASS in English 0742 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] Washington August 25 TASS -- Contras' clandestine Radio Liberation, which has been set up with C.I.A. money, last night broadcast a taped "personal message from President Reagan to the Nicaraguan people".

The larger part of the message, however, was addressed directly to the contras whom the President promised continued U.S. support in their struggle against the lawful Sandinist Government.

Although formally Ronald Reagan had a positive comment to make on the Guatemala peace plan for Central America, his message made it clear that the document interests his administration first of all as a tool for "deep-going political and social change in Nicaragua".

Commenting on recent White House statements on the problems of Central America, THE WASHINGTON POST said "Reagan is trying to walk...a tightrope between conservatives who fear he will desert the contras and congressional Democrats who are concerned that he is simply giving lip service to proposals for a negotiated end to the Nicaraguan conflict".

TERESHKOVA, FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION DEPART FOR U.S.

LD210949 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0535 GMT 21 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow, 21 Aug (TASS) -- Valentina Tereshkova, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (USSR) is heading a delegation, which departed Moscow today for the United States, to take part in the third meeting of the Soviet and U.S. publics.

A TASS correspondent was told in the USSR that the delegation is highly representative -- its members are state and public figures, deputies of the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and union republics, ministers, major political figures, military figures, famous people involved in science, culture, and the arts, representatives of youth, and religious circles.

The meeting, which will be held in Chautauqua, New York, will be devoted to matters of Soviet-U.S. and international relations. As was noted at a recent conference in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Press Center, the participants in the meeting can ease the chances of politicians and diplomats reaching agreement on eliminating missiles.

PRC WEEKLY CITED ON CHANGE IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

PM241445 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Article in Chinese Newspaper"]

[Text] Beijing, 18 Aug -- "The Soviet leadership is applying its efforts to a sober analysis of the situation and is objectively assessing the USSR's strengths and the peculiarities of the current international situation." The Shanghai weekly SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO published an article with this preamble in which an attempt is made to analyze the changes and basic directions of current Soviet foreign policy.

In the process of switching from the "zero option" in Europe to the "global double zero," the author of the article writes, there has been a succession of eye-catching changes in the Soviet Union's foreign policy. These changes are by no means accidental or isolated phenomena; they are the inevitable result of the Soviet Union's reappraisal of its foreign policy strategic thinking.

First, the view of the situation born of the nuclear epoch has changed. Now the Soviet Union believes that there can be no winners or losers in a nuclear war. War means total destruction. Not a single social system will be able to survive a nuclear war. No country can prove the advantage of its structure with the aid of nuclear weapons or a nuclear war.

In the past the Soviet Union believed that because of the relative weakness of its Armed Forces, and particularly its nuclear forces, when compared with the corresponding U.S. forces, it was essential to develop to the utmost the means for a nuclear strike and nuclear retaliation in order to reduce as much as possible the gap between it and the United States. Now the Soviet Union believes that the USSR and the United States possess such a large number of nuclear weapons that they would be able to destroy each other several times over. Thus, a further increase and improvement in nuclear weapons is absurd. In this connection the USSR has put forward a new military principle -- the principle of "sufficient defense." Its basic content lies in choosing the lowest level of armament needed to ensure the Soviet Union's security and destroy an invading aggressor. This principle gives the Soviet Union a theoretical basis to head the struggle against an unrestrained arms race.

The USSR now believes that militarism is not the inevitable result of the development of all capitalist states. Hence, by no means do all capitalist countries pose a military threat to the Soviet Union, nor is their policy always deliberately anti-Soviet. In many areas their policy deserves to be studied. Opportunities for cooperation between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union have not decreased but increased.

The USSR is now building relations with the socialist countries on the premise that every country has particular conditions and particular interests. Each socialist country has an absolute right to determine independently the methods for building its society, and no outsider has the right to intervene. Not a single communist party nor a single country has a monopoly right to the truth.

As for relations with the developing states, the Soviet Union considers the key link in this question to be that of whether the socialist countries, with the help of their economic might and level of democratic development, can be a convincing example for them.

Thus, the author of the SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO article concludes, the change in opinions on these aspects of foreign policy confirm that the Soviet leadership is soberly and objectively assessing the USSR's might and the peculiarities of the current international situation. The leadership is applying its efforts to analyzing the world situation from a new standpoint. It is relying here on the available experience, knowledge, and ideological preparation. The USSR believes that, in conducting extensive and profound political and economic reforms within the country, it is essential to coordinate these with a new foreign policy also.

RADIO CRITICIZES WASHINGTON'S 'TWO-CHINA' POLICY

OW250203 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Shakov commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] The Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States has called for increased military aid to Taiwan. A resolution adopted by the annual meeting of this organization stresses that Taiwan is the most reliable U.S. ally and a pillar of anticommunism in the Far East. On this, our commentator Shakov has the following comments:

At first glance, this matter seems to be of no significance. There are quite a few organizations in the United States making bold and absurd demands from time to time. Nonetheless, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States should not be grouped with these other organizations. The reason is that it has several million members and its leaders include many congressmen, financial magnates, and all high-ranking officials of U.S. military departments. Here I wish to point out that U.S. President Reagan has been with this organization for over 40 years. As proven by TIME magazine, the vast number of foreign political decisions by the U.S. authorities were adopted after consultations with leaders of this organization. This being the case, it is not unusual that the organization's call for increased military supplies for Taiwan and for development of political, economic, and other relations with Taiwan coincides with Washington's actual policy.

The past few decades have witnessed \$700 million worth of military aid provided annually by the United States to Taiwan. Other NATO countries have also supplied Taiwan with arms. For instance, the Netherlands has built two submarines for Taiwan. The U.S.-Taiwan trade volume is almost twice that between the United States and China. What is more, Taiwan enjoys a large trade surplus with the United States. The anticommunist color of U.S.-Taiwan relations should be noted as well.

The resolution of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States reflects the essence of the U.S. Asian-Pacific policy. Washington does nothing to conceal its ambition, but announces that it wants to eliminate the abnormal phenomenon of communism in Asia and the rest of the world. Implementation of its two-China policy is aimed at realizing such a stance. Actually, the U.S. authorities have implemented this policy all along, though they have paid lip service to the acknowledgement that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China. In view of Washington's practical actions, including its action with regard to U.S.-Taiwan relations, how much of the U.S. authorities' words can be trusted, after all?

HISTORY OF U.S. 'AGGRESSION' AGAINST PRC REVIEWED

OW242338 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Vasilyev commentary from the "Historical Fragments" program]

[Excerpts] Vasilyev, a Soviet expert in Chinese affairs, has reviewed the actions taken by the Soviet Union in the United Nations against U.S. aggression in the Taiwan Strait. The following is what he has written:

Shortly after the U.S. ruling clique launched its aggressive war against Democratic Korea in the summer of 1950, it ordered the U.S. Armed Forces to occupy Taiwan, a Chinese island. In a statement issued by then President Truman, the United States officially refused to recognize that Taiwan was part of the PRC's territory. The Soviet Government pointed out, in its 4 July 1950 statement, that the U.S. Government's move was a direct aggression against China. The Soviet Union demanded an immediate end to such armed intrusion, and an immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea and Taiwan.

In August of that year, the Soviet representative in the UN Security Council officially raised the issue that U.S. aggression must be halted and its intervention in the internal affairs of the PRC must be stopped. A demand was also made for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. Armed Forces from Taiwan and other territories belonging to China.

In a letter dated 20 August 1950 to the Security Council president and the UN secretary general, the Chinese Government said that the U.S. move severely undermined peace in Asia and in the rest of the world. The Chinese Government supported the Soviet proposal and expressed the hope that the United Nations would fulfill its duty of strengthening security. On 24 August 1950, the Chinese Government dispatched a message to the UN Security Council raising once again the issue that U.S. troops must be withdrawn from Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

In accordance with the firm demand of the Soviet delegation, the Security Council included the question of U.S. aggression against China on its agenda. The Soviet Union then submitted a draft resolution in this regard to the Security Council for examination and discussion. This draft resolution accused the U.S. Air Force of bombing China's territory and called on the United States to stop raiding the PRC with its Armed Forces. However, the United States obstructed the adoption of the Soviet draft resolution. [passage omitted]

Later, in 1955 and 1958, the United States twice aggravated the war atmosphere in the Taiwan Strait. It was even prepared to use nuclear weapons to invade China. However, the firm stand taken by the Soviet Union -- which had proclaimed that it viewed any invasion of the PRC as an invasion against itself -- cooled the hectic ambitions of the imperialists.

The Soviet Union always supports the PRC's just stand on the Taiwan issue. As for the United States, though it recognizes that Taiwan is part of China, it has, up to now, continued to trample on PRC sovereignty and obstruct a peaceful solution of the Taiwan issue by the Chinese people themselves.

ROLE OF NAVY'S ESCORT SHIPS IN GULF REPORTED

PM251005 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Aug 87 First Edition p 1

[Dispatch by Rear Admiral R. Paromov: "In Complex Situation: Our Ships in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] From time to time Soviet Navy ships sailing in the Indian Ocean are being enlisted to ensure the safety of Soviet ships plying the Persian Gulf. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has had a radio linkup with the commander of the detachment of Soviet ships in the Indian Ocean and asked him to describe the situation which our crews are encountering in what is now one of the tensest regions of the world's oceans -- the Persian Gulf.

The northern part of the Arabian Sea, the Gulf of Oman, the Persian Gulf, and the Strait of Hormuz which links them are sufficiently complicated regions for navigation. In particular their climatic features make themselves felt -- the combination of the intense heat and high humidity. The temperature of the shipboard water [zabortnaya voda] reaches 35 degrees and powerful winds bring dust and sand. Tropical cyclones are frequent. Visibility sometimes drops to 50 meters. This drastically complicates the sailors' work in servicing equipment and living conditions at combat posts and in living quarters.

Safe, accident-free navigation and the precise, harmonious operation of crews depends directly on the professional skill and experience of ship commanders and the officer crews. But it is not only weather and natural conditions which require heightened responsibility on the part of our seamen in fulfilling their mission. The escorting of Soviet ships in the Persian Gulf is also attended by great tension in connection with the high pitch of the military-political situation in latitudes here. Our ships have to operate in the immediate vicinity of U.S., British, and French warships which are making increasingly active use of carrier-based aircraft. Our seamen often see aircraft without insignia, rapid cutters, and various small craft. To all this we must add the serious danger from mines. So the watches, air defense details, and radar stations have to work under a regiment of the utmost vigilance and tension. Real competition is under way for the high-quality fulfillment of navigation tasks. The best results in practical work have now been achieved by the aerial and surface observation crews and combat information post of the escort ship Ladnyy, headed by Lieutenant Captain V. Kolistichenko.

The military buildup in the Persian Gulf on the part of the United States, Britain, and France is becoming increasingly dangerous to the ships of all countries sailing in this expanse of water. According to the comments of the captains of Soviet ships delivering freight (mainly agricultural equipment) to the countries of this region, they have a good idea of what it will be like here in the event of the further aggravation of the situation. Even now, incidents are taking place which attest to the constant risk of being shelled or striking a mine, like the tanker Marshal Chuykov of the Novosibirsk maritime shipping company. The captains of the diesel ships Ivan Shepetko and Sovetskiye Profsoyuzy and other ships have been in extremely dangerous situations.

The escort of Kuwaiti tankers under the U.S. flag recalls the convoys of war years. The escort ships establish their own procedure here, using open communications channels to warn all those around of the impermissibility of approaching the convoy within a specified distance.

Naturally, in this situation unaccompanied navigation presents a real danger for our ships. The captains tell us that the escorting of ships by naval vessels sharply raises the morale of their crew members. The civilian seamen treat the military seamen with great trust, pinning their hopes on their professional skill and selflessness.

Here is just one episode. While the naval minesweeper Zaryad was escorting one of our ships, minesweeper signaller leading seaman G. Bokayev was able to detect in good time a floating mine in the ship's path. The detonation team -- Senior Lieutenant S. Tikhvinenko, Petty Officer I. Radzhabov, and seamen I. Miller and V. Shalgin -- was able to eliminate the danger within minutes.

In another incident, the resolute actions of Captain third class G. Nikitin, commander of the large antisubmarine ship Sposobnyy, made it possible to avoid a dangerous situation while escorting two of our ships.

You cannot help noticing how our men mature in complex and dangerous situations. There have been virtually no cases where the actions of military seamen could have given rise to rebukes for lack of resolve or inadequate professionalism. On the contrary, it is above all courage and skill which distinguish those who are serving here, a long way from their native land. Officers P. Zhuravel, A. Golobov, V. Khalevin, V. Patsiyenko, A. Soshkin, A. Kuprenkov, V. Shambro, I. Slesarenko, and S. Kobelev have distinguished themselves particularly under these complex conditions.

U.S. NAVY SHIPS INTERCEPT IRANIAN FRIGATE

LD241320 Moscow TASS in English 1310 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] London August 24 TASS -- U.S. warships escorting Kuwaiti tankers in the Persian Gulf today intercepted an Iranian frigate, REUTER news agency has reported.

The Iranian frigate appeared in the vicinity of the convoy of four Kuwaiti tankers escorted by American vessels on the way to the Strait of Hormuz.

After a radio message urging the frigate to stop was sent, two American helicopters took off from the deck of the amphibious assault ship Guadalcanal and flew above the Iranian vessel, the agency reported. The Iranian frigate turned back.

IRAN'S LARIJANI HOLDS UN NEWS CONFERENCE ON GULF

LD242252 Moscow TASS in English 2213 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] New York August 25 TASS -- The buildup of the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf constitutes a special threat to security of the region -- a situation fraught with very serious consequences, said Mohammad Javad Larijani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Iran.

Addressing a news conference at the United Nations headquarters Monday, he stressed that the situation in the Persian Gulf was very unstable and that the buildup of military power there could in no way promote peace and stability.

He said that the concentration of U.S. naval forces in the Gulf was provocative in character and was bound to heighten tension there.

U.S. actions are at a basic variance with the need for ensuring the safety of navigation and is fraught with a threat to all, Mohammad Javad Larijani observed.

Larijani said he had had concrete and important discussions Monday with the United Nations secretary-general and the president of the Security Council. They centered on the situation in the region and the Security Council resolution concerning the settlement of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict.

The deputy foreign minister of Iran said that his country was prepared to support any comprehensive measures aiming for the settlement of the conflict in the interests of peace and stability in the region.

Asked about Iran's attitude to the Soviet proposal for multilateral talks of all states using the Indian Ocean in order to work out guarantees of the safety of sea shipping lanes, including the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, Larijani said that Iran was ready to take part in any discussions with countries of the region and an international body that would undertake to deal with that problem with the aim of attaining peace and security for the Persian Gulf.

FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL DENIES IRAN PIPELINE DEAL

JN231904 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 22 Aug 87 p 8

[Text] Moscow -- An official of the Middle East Countries Department at the Soviet Foreign Ministry has denied that the USSR signed an agreement with Iran to establish an Iranian oil pipeline across Soviet territory to the Black Sea. In an exclusive statement to AL-ITTIHAD, the Soviet official said that Yuliy Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received during his visit to Tehran an Iranian proposal to establish this pipeline across Soviet territory. He said that Vorontsov did not object to consultations and negotiations between the two sides for cooperation in this regard. Vorontsov said that it takes time to complete the talks and consultations between experts in this matter. He indicated that everything that has been said about an agreement between Moscow and Tehran to establish or operate a pipeline is baseless and unfounded. He said that the agreement under which Iran used to pump gas to the USSR remains frozen.

IZVESTIYA: IRAN, IRAQ BOUGHT ITALIAN MINES

PM241447 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed own correspondent: "Persian Gulf: Explosive 'Toys'"]

[Text] Kuwait -- Italian firms have secretly sold at least 6 million mines to Iran and Iraq, European and Arab papers report.

The mines were delivered in boxes marked "toys." There were antitank and antipersonnel mines as well as sea mines.

The Persian Gulf is now riddled with mines, which are a threat to shipping and are hampering oil exports. Kuwaiti Oil Minister 'Ali al-Khalifa al-Adbi al-Sabah said that, given the tense situation in the Gulf as a result of the continuing Iran-Iraq conflict, oil supplies from the region's countries may be suspended.

IRAQI ENVOY SAYS ATTACKS ON TANKERS MAY RESUME

LD250736 Moscow TASS in English 0600 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] Washington August 25 TASS -- Iraq's envoy to the United States has said that his country may resume attacks on Iranian oil shipments in the Persian Gulf.

Speaking in an interview with the ASSOCIATED PRESS, Ambassador Nizar Hamdun said: "Iraq has never given up its right to hit and attack the Iranian ships".

Iraq suspended such attacks last month following a U.N. Security Council Resolution urging a ceasefire on the fronts of the Iran-Iraq war and a peaceful settlement.

However, Iraq might resume the attacks if it saw the effort to put an end to the war slack off, Hamdun warned.

MOSCOW TV NOTES ECONOMIC 'SABOTAGE' IN AFGHANISTAN

LD242052 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The Afghan counterrevolution is using more and more new forms of diversion and sabotage in an attempt to wreck the national reconciliation process.

[Reporter Boris Savodyan, identified by caption] This footage was filmed by Afghan cameramen in the northern province, Samagan. The other day another 580 former dushmans went over to the side of the government there. To date about 30,000 people in Afghanistan have chosen a peaceful life; these are the real fruits of national reconciliation. [Video shows group of men approaching Afghan soldiers. One man embraces a soldier. Gathering of former dushmans shown]

But, nonetheless, there is no peace as yet in Afghanistan. Alarming news arrives in Kabul from various regions in the country. Here one day, there another, the dushmans have fired at populated areas and committed acts of terror. [Video shows people walking through open country, cutting to still shots of ruined buildings]

These books, brochures, pamphlets, and video cassettes were brought from neighboring Pakistan in sacks along the dusty roads and mountain paths, together with weapons. There is malice and hate for the events occurring in Afghanistan and for the anti-Soviet propaganda in this material, manufactured with the assistance of Western special services. These counterfeit afghanis are produced with the knowledge and under the guidance of Western and primarily U.S. instructors in Pakistan. [Video shows pamphlets, Agfa and Sony videotapes, bullets and lines of rifles, more pamphlets and piles of bank notes]

[H. Sediq, representative of the State Bank of Afghanistan, identified by screen caption, speaking in vernacular with translation by Savodyan] The gangs of counterrevolutionaries that are sent in from there buy up rice, wheat, and sugar at the markets in Afghanistan's border regions with forged money, in order to create an artificial shortage of foodstuffs. Counterfeit bank notes are also a weapon. It represents a great danger to the economy of Democratic Afghanistan.

COMMUNICATIONS PACT WITH AFGHANISTAN OUTLINED

LD200001 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 19 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS -- The Soviet Union will deliver to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan equipment needed to ensure radio broadcasting on the whole territory of the country, a TASS correspondent was told at the USSR Communications Ministry.

The USSR is currently rendering assistance to this country in setting up a network of radiorelay communications. The project will provide 15 provinces with telephone links with Kabul. The Soviet-built ground space communication station is successfully operating, ensuring telephone and telegraph communication between Afghanistan and other countries. The same station beams programmes of Afghan Central Television to seven provinces. This year a document was signed on the delivery to Afghanistan of powerful Soviet relay stations which will bring television broadcasts to all provincial centres in the country.

EGYPTIAN PAPER CITED ON AIM OF 'BRIGHT STAR-87'

PM241357 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Aug 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Rehearsing Aggression"]

[Text] Cairo, 17 Aug -- Joint U.S.-Egyptian maneuvers designated "Bright Star-87" are taking place on Egyptian territory in an atmosphere of heightened secrecy. Reluctant to draw the attention of the world public to the aggressive nature of the actions being practiced during the exercises by a contingent of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force, the organizers of the maneuvers decided to cancel journalists' accreditation for them. They also revoked the invitations sent earlier to foreign military attaches. Egypt's official press, radio, and television are not reporting any information about the course of the exercises.

Local political circles are expressing the opinion that such measures have been dictated by the increased tension in the Persian Gulf and the Near East. The tactical operations being worked on by the Air Force, Navy, and mechanized infantry units correspond too closely to a scenario for a potential large-scale U.S. military intervention in the Persian Gulf region.

Egypt's SAWT AL-'ARAB believes the main aim of the maneuvers is the need to rehearse the planned interventionist actions by the Rapid Deployment Force under Near Eastern conditions. Only this, it writes, can explain the practice landing of a U.S. amphibious assault force on the Mediterranean coast near Alexandria and the participation in the maneuvers of the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS Saratoga, the cruiser Virginia, two frigates and other U.S. Navy ships; the field firing and bombardment of targets in the Western (Libyan) Desert by B-52 aircraft flown especially the 19,000 kilometers from their bases in North Dakota; and the capture of "enemy" strongholds by airborne assault units.

These actions fit completely the plans of Pentagon strategists who are stating their intention "to ensure by any means the free flow of oil from the Persian Gulf zone." It is precisely the Rapid Deployment Force which has been assigned the role of main "guarantor" of the uninterrupted working of the oil deposits of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and other states in the region for the benefit of U.S. "vitally important interests." U.S. strategic plans assign Egypt the role of a jumping-off site for the transfer of interventionist forces to this region of the world, the newspaper points out.

MORE ON OFFICIAL WELCOME FOR MOZAMBIQUE'S CHIPANDE

PM241739 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Aug 87 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] On 24 August Army General Alberto Joaquim Chipande, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister of the People's Republic of Mozambique [PRM], arrived in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

At Sheremetyevo Airport the guest and those accompanying him were met by: Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister; Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister; Army General M.I. Sorokin, USSR deputy defense minister [name and title as published]; Admiral of the Fleet N.I. Smirnov, first deputy commander in chief of the Navy; and Soviet Armed Forces generals and officers.

The welcoming party included G.R.G. Sengo [initials as published], PRM ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The state flags of the PRM and the Soviet Union were flying at the airport, an honor guard was formed, and the national anthems of the two countries were played.

Army General A.J. Chipande, PRM national defense minister, received the report from the commander of the honor guard and inspected the formation of Soviet servicemen.

KAMENTSEV RECEIVES CAPE VERDE PRIME MINISTER

PM210925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In an Atmosphere of Friendship"]

[Text] A meeting was held 17 August between V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Pedro Verona Pires, prime minister of Cape Verde and deputy secretary general of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, who is vacationing in the USSR.

V.M. Kamentsev told his guest about the creative work under way in the USSR to radically restructure Soviet society -- work given a new boost by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum and the seventh USSR Supreme Soviet session.

In the atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding typical of relations between the two countries, opinions were exchanged on ways of further developing Soviet-Cape Verdian ties in various spheres. The two sides stressed the need to improve the effectiveness of economic cooperation and to give it new forms which accord as far as possible with the sides' mutual interests.

A.D. Tavares, Cape Verdian ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the talks.

MOSCOW TV SHOWS BALTIC EMIGRE RALLY IN SWEDEN

LD241748 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 Aug 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yet another attempt, this time abroad, to discredit the decision taken by the working peoples of the Baltic republics before the war to restore Soviet power, became a fiasco. Here is a report from Stockholm.

[Begin recording] [Valentin Gubernatorov, identified by screen caption] There were not many of them gathered here, not more than 40 people, although tens of thousands of emigres from the Baltic republics now live in Sweden. There are emigres and emigres; I know quite a few who have been living in alien parts for decades but have not lost their love for their fatherland. They will never come to gatherings such as this, aiming to fan up anti-Soviet feelings in our country. It was the will of destiny that quite a few people from the Baltic regions turned up in Sweden. Some, such as (Ago Tervare) fled here saving their necks from retribution for crimes committed against their own peoples; others followed in their footsteps, deceived by fascist propaganda.

Many of those who refused to serve the occupants and who did not cover their hands in the blood of people who were tormented and executed did return home. They keep on returning to this very day, too.

However, there are those who grabbed the leading posts in all manner of committees and councils and who fish for, and pervert, the souls of gullible people, splitting parents and children, brothers and sisters. While these 40 people are playing out their cheap farce here, recreating the events of 1939, genuine and real life simultaneously went on in another part of the city. A crowd of some 30,000 applauded the performance of the Estonian conductor, meritorious USSR artiste, winner of state prize Eri Klas.

Following the concert, which was a tremendous success, I asked him: While the concert was in progress, in front of our embassy building, near the embassy, a group of Baltic emigres assembled -- they demanded freedom and independence for the Baltic republics. What do you think of actions of this kind?

[Klas] I think that Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have proved, during the time of the existence of Soviet power, that they are strong republics, capable of representing themselves in creative and cultural life to the fullest extent and when the Soviet Union is represented by various republics, it is a model for the whole world. [video shows rally] [end recording]

UK CHARGE SUMMONED OVER WWII 'CRIMINAL' IN UK

LD242051 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 24 TASS -- Today Noel Marshall, charge d'affaires ad interim of the United Kingdom to the USSR, was summoned to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs where a note was delivered to him.

The note informed the British side of the results of an inquiry carried out by Soviet investigating bodies. The inquiry concerns Antanas Gecievicus, who is guilty of Nazi crimes in World War Two years and who lives in Britain in the city of Edinburgh.

The investigation established, in particular, that Antanas Stanislov Gecievicus, born in 1916, in Iokuliai village of Klaipeda District, Lithuania, served as a platoon commander of a police battalion in 1941-1944 in the territory of Lithuania and Belorussia which were temporarily occupied by the Nazis. Among the battalion he actively engaged in punitive activities against civilians in the cities of Minsk, Slutsk, Kletsk, Borisov, and Dzerzhinsk.

He was in charge of policemen who were directly involved in mass killings of innocent people. He personally shot to death the doomed among whom were women, children, and old men.

In 1944 during the retreat of Nazi troops Gecievicus fled together with the Nazis to Western Europe with a view to avoiding responsibility for the grave crimes committed, and settled in Britain.

The fact that the Hitlerite killer remains unpunished gives rise to legitimate indignation among the Soviet public who demand that he be put on trial.

In this connection the Soviet side draws the attention of the British Government to appropriate international legal documents under which Nazi war criminals should be extradicated to countries in the territory of which they perpetrated crimes for trial and punishment.

The note says that the Soviet side expects that the British Government will take measures to extradite Gecievicus to Soviet authorities for him to be called to account at the place where he perpetrated the gravest crimes against humanity.

BIRYUKOVA MEETS VISITING ITALIAN TU DELEGATION

LD221349 Moscow TASS in English 1336 GMT 22 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 22 TASS -- Aleksandra Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vadim Zagladin, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vladimir Lomonosov, AUCCTU deputy chairman, have met today with a delegation of the leadership of the trade union federations of Italy -- secretaries general: Antonio Pizzinato, of the General Italian Confederation of Labour (CGIL), Franco Marini, of the Italian Confederation of Workers Unions (CISL), and Giorgio Benvenuto, of the Italian Labour Union (UIL). The delegation of the three trade union federations arrived in the Soviet Union on a visit at the invitation of the Soviet trade unions.

The sides discussed topical issues of mutual interest. The Italian delegation showed a lively interest in the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, the processes of restructuring underway in the USSR.

It was pointed out that cooperation of the trade unions irrespective of their political orientation can make an essential contribution to defence of peace and resolution of other global problems facing humanity, the development of mutual understanding and trust among nations, in defence of the interests of the working people.

Both sides expressed the view that the meeting held had contributed towards a better understanding of the positions they occupy on the most important problems of the international situation and questions pertaining to the development of international cooperation.

GORBACHEV AWARDED 1987 GREEK PEACE MEDAL

PM240835 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent G. Shakhunyan dispatch under the "Reports From Abroad" rubric: "Greece: Recognition of Great Services"]

[Text] Athens -- The 1987 Peace Medal of the cultural center in the municipality of Lefkhada has been awarded to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, as a symbol of recognition of his great services in the struggle for disarmament, detente, and mutual understanding.

At a ceremony at which the medal was presented to the Soviet Embassy, S. Margellis, mayor of the city of Lefkhada, stated that the policy being implemented by the Soviet leadership attests to a sincere desire to consolidate universal peace and achieve the elimination of nuclear weapons on our planet. He stressed that the persistent consistent peace initiatives and proposals emanating from Moscow match up to any optimistic thoughts and hopes about a more humanitarian future for mankind and express the aspirations of all people of goodwill for lasting stable peace and security.

M.S. Gorbachev's gratitude for being awarded the medal and wishes to Greek peace supporters for success in their noble movement were conveyed in response to the inhabitants and the municipality of the city of Lefkhada.

BELGIUM'S FOREIGN MINISTER ON GULF MINESWEEPING

LD250929 Moscow TASS in English 0801 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] Brussels August 25 TASS -- Leo Tindemans, Belgium's external relations minister, made a statement on Monday night on the question of the dispatch of Belgian minesweepers to the Persian Gulf zone. Speaking in a television interview, he pointed out that if the government passed a decision on that score, Belgium's naval ships would engage themselves in the Gulf solely in a search for and destruction of mines, ensuring shipping in international waters. Leo Tindemans specially noted that so far the government had not yet taken any decision on Belgium's participation in that operation, but that the question was being studied. The minister stressed that Belgium would like to preserve strict neutrality in the Iran-Iraq conflict.

KUZMIN CITES LENIN'S VIEWS ON DEMOCRATIZATION

PM250914 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Aug 87 Second Edition p 3

[E. Kuzmin article: "'Taking the Development of Democracy to Its Conclusion...': On the 70th Anniversary of V.I. Lenin's Work 'State and Revolution'" -- passages within slantlines are printed in boldface]

[Text] "Given real democracy, we have nothing to fear, because life is on our side..." Lenin.

In the alarming days of July 1917, when mortal danger hung over V.I. Lenin, he sent a note to L.B. Kamenev: "Entre nous (between ourselves -- Editor): If they bump me off, I ask you to publish my note book: 'Marxism on the State' ...It is a bound book with a blue cover" (Complete Collected Works, Vol 49, p 444).

On the basis of numerous observations by K. Marx and F. Engels and extensive author's notes collected in the "blue note book" that was so dear to the heart of the leader of the Russian proletariat, he created the book "State and Revolution" in "one breath" in August-September.

It sets forth as fully and systematically as possible the history of the formation and the nature of Marxist teaching on the state, the demolition of the bourgeois state machine, and the withering away of the state at the highest phase of the communist society, and strips K. Marx' and F. Engels' views on these vital questions of opportunist accretions and anarchist onslaughts. Here the foundations are laid for the theory of socialist statehood, subsequently deepened and developed on the basis of the specific experience of exercising the power of the working people in Soviet Russia.

This book, devoid of cliches and high-flown edification and filled with the intensive rhythm of life, largely retains its topicality and political relevance to this day.

"Taking the development of democracy /to its conclusion/, seeking the /forms/ of this development, testing them in /practice/, and so forth, all this is one of the key tasks in the struggle for social revolution" -- this precept of Lenin's predetermines our party's course, outlined by the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress and further developed in principle at the January and June (1987) plenums.

There is a deep meaning and great internal logic in the fact that it is in the conditions of restructuring, when the task of all-around activation of the human factor has become so urgent, that the party, returning to the Leninist sources, so resolutely poses the question of the maximum democratism of the socialist system. "Having a program of radical reform of economic management," M.S. Gorbachev has noted, "we have already created, so to speak, a large-scale front for an offensive in all avenues of the democratization of society, for acceleration and the deepening of the restructuring."

Democratization is not just fine words, not the slogan of the day, but the essence of the restructuring, which itself is only possible through the involvement of the broadest masses of the people in all the creative initiatives, the spiritual and moral cleansing of society, high respect for the value and dignity of the individual, the mobilization of all democratic institutions, and the resolute elimination of any tendency to "mark time." /Either democratization, or social inertia, stagnation, and conservatism -- that is how the party poses the question today./

It should, however, be taken into account that some of the working people still have to learn democracy and master the skill of conducting debates in conditions of glasnost. Moreover many people are not yet ready to devote energy, effort, and free time, invest nervous and psychological energy, and sometimes take the risk of damaging their own position in connection with the need to display implacability toward shortcomings and a principled approach in the execution of their civic duty. Hence the exceptional significance of the task of creating favorable conditions for the working people to participate in management so that it becomes in practice an inner need, the "call of the soul" for every person.

The concept of socialist self-management of the people put forward by the CPSU will undoubtedly "acquire" the necessary institutions and be backed up by concrete forms and legal provisions in order to enable the political system of socialism to "work" still more energetically in the direction of the development of the working people's initiative, their /universal/ involvement, in accordance with what Lenin foresaw, in the management of the affairs of society and state, and the creation of conditions enabling "/everyone/ without exception to fulfill 'state functions'..."

In principle, the level of democracy cannot be "higher" than the level of society's economic and cultural development. However, at the present turning point in the history of the Soviet state, which requires the maximum activeness of the broad masses so as to ensure real acceleration, it is, perhaps, correct to raise the question of the /intensification and preferential development of the forms of socialist self-management of the people and the diverse institutions of Soviet democracy/.

Here it is a question of a fundamentally new stage of socialist people's power, in which the transition is completed from power in the name of the people to power exercised by the people themselves, from the /democracy of consent (consensus) to the democracy of action (decisive participation)/. Hence the exceptional significance of and necessity for a collective quest, based on the people's wisdom and the masses' initiative (and on the basis of real choice), for those who are truly the best candidates for the organs of power, for the comparison of opinions and viewpoints and consequently alternative options for the resolution of particular problems, and so forth.

One of the central ideas in Lenin's book is the historically doomed and bankrupt nature of bourgeois parliamentarianism. "The corrupt and rotten parliamentarianism of the bourgeois society of the Commune is replaced by institutions in which freedom of opinion and discussion does not degenerate into deception, because parliamentarians themselves must work, themselves fulfill their own laws, themselves test what transpires in life, and themselves answer directly to their voters" (Vol 33, pp 47-48).

In his post-October works V.I. Lenin analyzed on the basis of concrete facts and examples the experience of the first steps of the emergent socialist statehood. But "State and Revolution" already defines the exceptionally significant, fundamental goal of socialist revolution -- "the transformation of /all/ citizens into workers and employees belonging to /one/ large 'syndicate,' namely: the entire state, and the total subjugation of all the work of this entire syndicate to a truly democratic state, the /state of soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies/".

As a realist, V.I. Lenin was, of course, fully aware that for a comparatively prolonged period socialism would need a state apparatus. He cited sympathetically F. Engels' idea that the working class, on coming to power, should not only eliminate the whole of the old machinery of oppression formerly used against it, but also "insure itself against its own deputies and officials..." [paragraph continues]

V.I. Lenin was subsequently to lash out angrily against formalism, red tape, and "communist arrogance," and, not without reason, to see bureaucracy itself as the most dangerous threat to the cause of socialism.

The only reliable means of "destroying bureaucracy" is consistent democratization, the appointment of officials by election and the possibility of replacing them at any time, and an "immediate switch to a system whereby everyone exercises the functions of monitoring and supervision, whereby /everyone/ becomes a 'bureaucrat' for a time, so that /nobody/ can be a 'bureaucrat.'"

The party devotes priority attention to the development of democratic principles in the soviets of people's deputies and the eradication of whatever prevents them from working at full strength and becoming in practice the key component in the people's socialist self-management.

As practice shows, soviet sessions have not taken the leading position in the system of organizational forms of the activity of the organ of power. They still are often reminiscent of staged events following a ritual established once and for all, an essential feature of which is the unanimous adoption of a draft drawn up beforehand and to which the deputies basically make no changes in the course of the sessions. Indeed, many of those elected by the people have virtually no opportunity to speak at a session, even once in each convocation, given the existing procedure and duration of work.

At the same time what seem to me to be sensible proposals are put forward for /intermissions at the sessions after the report on the main question, so that it can be discussed at the standing commissions sessions and the results can then be reported to the soviet/. This system is, incidentally, familiar from our practice in the twenties. Such an approach would offer an opportunity, if necessary, to return to a contentious issue and carry out a "second reading" of the draft law, which would preclude the slightest possibility of ignoring particular proposals from deputies and help improve the quality of the documents prepared. V.I. Lenin, as is well known, demanded in relation to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee: "Longer sessions. More thorough discussion. More detailed checks." He saw the increased length of sessions in terms of the study of the basic questions of legislation and the systematic monitoring of the work of people's commissariats and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

Great significance is today attached to the implementation of Lenin's Demand to "liven up the soviets, bring in nonparty people, and have /nonparty/ people check the work of party members..." (Vol 44, p 81). to this and there must be regular accountability by both deputies and officials to the labor collectives and directly to the population, /with working people being granted the right to assess the leaders' activity, to the point of raising the question of dismissing those who do not cope with their duties or compromise themselves/. Perhaps an increase in the effectiveness of management activity and the struggle against people "taking root" in one place, with the ensuing loss of a sense of innovation and many other negative consequences, could also be served by the systematic transfer of workers from the center to other regions of the country, and in particular the /introduction of a system whereby officials would remain in their posts only for a term strictly laid down in advance/.

V.I. Lenin, angrily rejecting the gibes of the opportunists who saw the measures to bring the state apparatus closer to the population as nothing more than a demand for "naive, primitive democratism," noted in "State and Revolution" that "under socialism much that belongs to 'primitive' democracy will inevitably come to life, because for the first time in the history of civilized societies the /mass/ of the population will rise to /independent/ participation not only in votes and elections, but /in day-to-day management/" (Vol 33, p 116).

Speaking of this "primitive" democracy, V.I. Lenin predicted that "affairs of state will be conducted not by a special organ or special organs, but by /all/ members of the state. How? Through a /new/ kind of 'direct people's law-making...'" (Vol 33, pp 271-272). This task of historic importance, defined by the leader of the revolution at the dawn of soviet power, must be gradually translated into practice in the conditions of self-management.

Today, as life shows, people's meetings and rural assemblies, for instance, are not held regularly everywhere, are not always thoroughly prepared, and not infrequently the participants' activeness is low. Real self-management in production is hampered by inertia, the elitist and technocratic approach, and lack of faith in the mighty force of the labor collective. It is worrying that according to a sociological poll, the lower the level of the soviet, the less well informed the population is about its affairs: Whereas, for instance, 37.6 percent of the population knew about what the USSR Supreme Soviet had been discussing, in relation to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet the figure was 17.4 percent, the oblast soviet -- 9.3 percent, the city soviet -- 13.7 percent, and the rayon (within a city) soviet -- 3.4 percent of the population. The strict implementation of the provisions of the new laws adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet session will be of decisive significance for improving the public discussion of drafts on the most important issues.

The more successful introduction into practice of the forms of direct (first-hand) democracy means making bolder use of the telephone, radio, and other audiovisual technology. In future it would perhaps be possible to "link up" television more actively to sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its organs, local soviets, and ministry and department collegiums, thereby forming "TV linkups" (including some operating on a "question and answer" basis) between the leadership and the population. What is, for us, a comparatively new means of finding out about public opinion, namely the carrying out of special polls and surveys among the population, requires greater attention.

In the interests of improving work to record and generalize public opinion, we should work toward setting up an /integrated system for the study of public opinion/ in the country.

Active intervention by the public in the resolution of a number of ecological, cultural, and other problems has demonstrated the real force wielded by the "voice of the people" and the grave consequences for the country which could result from a high-handed attitude to it and from trying to act from voluntarist, authoritarian positions. /It is therefore exceptionally important that a kind of social monitoring machinery be set up and operate reliably in the country./ This could be a system of consultative councils attached to the organs of people's power (at least in their higher echelons), formed on the principle of representation from mass public organizations, creative unions, large labor collectives, organs of independent activity by working people, and so forth. The consultative councils should be granted, on the one hand, the right of legislative initiative, and on the other the opportunity to veto "defective" options for solving the most important questions of state and public life.

Political life in the socialist countries shows that it is in the course of public debates that the contentious issues can best be clarified and correct solutions found. That is why constructive criticism should be regarded as a component of the natural working condition of society and the state apparatus and the main lever for resolving contradictions. /In this regard it is important that the state and the collective show tolerance toward different and sometimes even erroneous viewpoints and guarantee the protection of persons who find themselves in the minority in the course of the discussion of a particular issue./

In other words, it is a question of ensuring that subordination to the majority, that principle of democracy, is implemented in a civilized way, by ethically irreproachable means, and is not contrary to political integrity, social justice, and elementary human decency.

V.I. Lenin associated the prospects of the transition from the first phase of the communist society to its highest phase with the ability of everyone to manage and with truly autonomous management of social production, and with the consideration and control of "parasites, lords, swindlers, and such like 'custodians of the traditions of capitalism.'" In "State and Revolution" the fundamental principles of true control are indicated, control which is designed to be "really universal, general, and nationwide, so that it will be impossible to escape from it, 'there will be nowhere to hide.'"

It is hardly necessary to point out the relevance of these words of Lenin's when the party is working persistently on the implementation of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum on creating an integrated system of control in the country, which would possess broad powers, be based on maximum glasnost, and fulfill its functions comprehensively, from the standpoint of the whole people, and in a broad sociopolitical context.

Brilliantly applying Marx' methods to the analysis of the transitional period from capitalism to communism V.I. Lenin roundly censures the idea "that socialism is something dead, stagnant, fixed once and for all, whereas in fact it is /only/ from socialism that a rapid, real, truly mass movement will begin, with the participation of the /majority/ of the population and later of the entire population, a movement forward in all spheres of social and personal life" (Vol 33, pp 99-100). These words perhaps sum up the main meaning, the party and civic thrust of the book "State and Revolution."

This work, which grows organically out of the experience of the application of the Marxist theory of development and is literally imbued with the spirit of revolutionary dialectics and boundless faith in the force of reason and the creativity of the broad masses of the people, remains to this day a kind of ideological and theoretical touchstone by which the party tests its course of democratization and the struggle against spiritual stagnation and bureaucratic routine, against an indifferent, bureaucratic attitude to the needs and requirements of the working people.

PRAVDA VIEWS DEMOCRATIZATION, RESTRUCTURING

PM201015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Democratization -- The Motive Force in Restructuring. Actively Participate, Persistently Strive For Our Goal"]

[Text] Mail boxes with the unusual label "Director's Mail" recently made their appearance at the entrances to the Moscow Radio Equipment Plant. Taking the opportunity to directly address the director, workers and specialists have already made a considerable number of practical observations and suggestions on technical, labor, and social issues. The enterprise is now running better.

People living in the city of Sosnovyy Bor in Leningrad Oblast learned with satisfaction that, taking account of their wishes, the gorispolkon had decided to refrain from building a series of projects in a forested area and to conduct a public opinion poll on plans for future residential areas. [paragraph continues]

The local soviet's new work forms -- studying citizens' opinions before sessions, holding out-of-town ispolkom sessions, and receiving complaints and proposals through "direct channels" -- are markedly enhancing the authority of this organ of power and the effectiveness of its decisions.

Just two examples, but how typical they are of the present day! Our time is distinguished by many new phenomena in the country's social life. A program to radically reform economic management on the basis of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-management has been adopted. Cadre certification and the appointment of leaders by election is increasingly becoming the norm in labor collectives. An experiment has been conducted with multimandate electoral districts, which has confirmed the need for serious changes in the electoral system. The nationwide discussion of important state issues is now law. These are all encouraging signs of the new moral and political atmosphere established by the party since the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Until recently the predominance of administrative, high-handed management methods caused a breach between word and deed and, as a result, passivity, indifference, and social parasitism. The current upswing in civic activeness is a direct consequence of the fact that everyone now has an increasingly clear picture of the changes taking place in our society. At the same time it is also a very important condition of the irreversibility of the transformation which have been begun. As pointed out at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum, it is only through the consistent development of the democratic forms inherent in socialism that we can progress and it is only through democracy and thanks to democracy that restructuring itself is possible.

This process is not easy. Some people are sometimes confused when faced with the new realities and doubt whether they accord with the nature and principles of socialism. As always, Lenin's rich legacy helps people to understand. Underlining the need to involve "all working people" in state management, Vladimir Ilich wrote: "This is an enormously difficult task. But socialism cannot be introduced by the minority -- the party. It can only be introduced by tens of millions of people, when they learn to do this themselves."

Learning democracy. That is how the party now formulates the task. This appeal applies to everyone equally. For instance, it is important that an economic leader should really sense and consider the difference between one-man management and one-man rule in industry and see public opinion as a real support in his work rather than a tiresome hindrance. In addition to this the collective must learn to distinguish between practical initiative and bold innovation and strident demagoguery and exploitation of popular slogans. A reliable criterion in this respect is what a person takes upon himself and how far he feels and displays a personal sense of responsibility for the decisions he makes and for the success of the task in hand.

Take the economy, a decisive sphere of social life. The results for the first 6 months reflected further growth in production and improved living standards. At the same time the statistics did not conceal the "unfavorable" figures. In particular, spoilt output cost almost R40 million. The fulfillment of contractual pledges had deteriorated in comparison to last year. Railroad transport stoppages have still to be eliminated. But specific people are responsible for all this. The time demands real action from everyone today, not just words and assurances. It is people's attitude to their work, their discipline and energy, and their persistency in overcoming shortcomings which to a decisive degree determine the fate of our plans.

Experience confirms that lasting success can only be achieved where people know how to listen to others' opinions and have a respectful attitude to their knowledge, initiative, and interest. [paragraph continues]

Labor collective councils created in line with the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), workers' assemblies, press items, and other manifestations of direct democracy make it possible to broadly study different viewpoints, to prevent possible errors, and to place a reliable barrier in the way of subjective, voluntarist actions and recurrences of departmentalism and local favoritism.

In this respect it is important to remember that people judge the level of democracy in society by the real, hard facts they experience at local level: in their collective, city, or village. That is why a merciless, uncompromising struggle must be waged everywhere against bureaucracy -- an antipode of democracy. A. Tsvetkov, a PRAVDA reader from Krasnodar, described, for example, his ordeals with the building of his home. He had to see a notary public on several occasions, pay four visits to a technical inventory bureau, followed by visits to the chairman and the secretary of the soviet ispolkom.... The result was "13 man-visits," the author of the letter calculated. "They send you from one person to another in the same establishment instead of passing on your documents. We are simply doing the walking for our papers. We have to ask for time off work on each occasion."

How many obstacles the bureaucrat places in the way of progressive innovations! This is demonstrated in particular by reports on the unwarranted difficulties raised in the process of forming cooperatives in Baku and Vladivostok and on the artificial obstacles frequently placed in the way of citizens trying to join horticultural associations or acquire a summer house and construction materials. Party and soviet bodies everywhere must wage a determined struggle against the carriers of this "administrative virus." The trade unions have a special role to play in protecting people's interests and dignity. The first thing they must do is give more active support to pioneers of restructuring, overcoming the levelling-down mentality and inspiring sceptics and waverers with innovators' moral example.

Democratization is directly linked to glasnost. Much has to be learned in this respect: to develop the art of discussion, conclusively argue your own opinion, and hear others' without bias. Glasnost consists in honest, purifying criticism and self-criticism. It requires those elected to regularly report back to the public in order to collectively reach decisions. Finally, it demands comprehensive people's control in the interests of ensuring unconditional observance of social justice.

A very great deal depends on party committees in the development of democratic processes. In all organizational and ideological work they are obliged to maintain close contact with the masses, answer any questions, even the most probing, and ensure that decisions and results correspond.

Soviet people are rightly proud of what our country has achieved in the seven post-October decades. They are sure that through restructuring and democratization the country will reach new heights in socioeconomic and spiritual progress. Our people, it was noted at the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, are in favor of democratization politically and in everyday practice. The will of the people -- this is also one of the historic lessons learned from the Great October Revolution -- is the deciding creative force in socialist society.

PRESIDIUM DECREE WITHDRAWS KUNAYEV'S DEPUTY MANDATE

LD250955 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] In connection with the personal statement of Comrade Kunayev, on surrendering his deputy's mandate, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

On the basis of Article 10 of the Law of the USSR "On the Status of People's Deputies of the USSR" the mandate of the deputy of the Soviet of the Union Dinmukhamed Akhmedovich Kunayev, representing the Alma Ata Oblast, is deemed to be withdrawn ahead of term.

KAZAKHSTAN OFFICIAL ON POSITIVE ECONOMIC INDICATORS

LD241520 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 Aug (TASS) -- Restructuring in Kazakhstan's national economy has begun to bear fruit although there is still more than enough unfinished work and unused resources. This was how Yevgeniy Bashmakov, deputy chairman of the Kazakhstan Council of Ministers, answered the question on the state of the republic's economy as put by a TASS correspondent.

He drew attention to the fact that, in the first half of the year, growth in industrial production amounted to 6.5 percent. It has been a long time since there have been such high indicators in the republic's economy. This, noted Yevgeniy Bashmakov, is the result of the activation of the human factor: the introduction of new wage conditions in industry and of lease-contracting [arendnogo podryada] in agriculture, that is, of those measures that economically stimulate creative and high-quality productive labor. However, the main factors of restructuring -- renewal of assets, introduction of the latest techniques, and advanced technology -- have not yet begun to fully operate. We are only beginning this great and extensive work.

Even the present economic growth rates, however, contribute a stable increment to the national income. It has been decided to actively exploit this in order to develop the social sphere, the deputy head of the government continued. We have, among other things, begun to invest considerably more sizeable means in state housing construction. This has provided an opportunity for adopting a new housing program for the republic, which provides for a 30-35 percent increase in the rate of housing construction. By 1991, this will enable the provision of comfortable individual apartments or houses for all those currently in need of improvements in their living conditions. The implementation of this program has begun; from January to June, 50 percent more homes were commissioned than in the first half of last year.

We are realists and so understand that problems that have accumulated over decades will not be solved in 2 or 3 years. But the main thing in my view has been done: we have actively begun their solution, the deputy chairman of Kazakhstan's Council of Ministers said in conclusion.

POGODIN ON DEMONSTRATIONS IN BALTIC CAPITALS

LD241422 Moscow World Service in English 1310 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Attempts were made on Sunday to hold anti-Soviet demonstrations in Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn, capitals of the three Soviet Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia respectively. Here is a commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin:

The scenario of events that were to have taken place that day had been prepared over a long time and in great detail. Voice of America, the BBC and other foreign radio stations that broadcast in Soviet languages made direct calls to Lithuanians, Letts, and Estonians to sling mud at the decision made in 1940 by the peoples of these countries to restore Soviet government and join the USSR as sovereign republics.

These radio calls had lately been turned into instructions. Places and times were named for holding demonstrations, slogans were announced for these actions. Even the expected strength of demonstrations mentioned. According to these foreign stations, in Vilnius, capital of Soviet Lithuania, between 100,000 and 200,000 people should have come out into the streets.

Let's leave aside the issue of whether this obviously provocative incitation runs counter to international law, the Final Act of the All-European Conference for instance which states outright that it is impermissible to interfere directly or indirectly in the internal affairs of states. Let's take a look at the results of these vast propaganda and organizational efforts. It was making the proverbial mountain out of a molehill, that is the best definition. According to the Soviet news agency TASS, in Vilnius 250-300 people gathered on a public square near the Adam Mickiewicz monument. Even the REUTER correspondent reported from Vilnius that the maximum number of participants was only 500 out of the city's population of 600,000. As we can see, the scale of the actions was well below the advertised figure.

Who were the people in these small and rather pitiful looking gatherings? Some of them had cooperated with Nazi invaders during World War II; others didn't like socialism, for we do have such people here. There were other still who were simply duped by the calls of extremists. Well, they have their own views and they had a chance to air their views. The REUTER correspondent noted in his report, with obvious regret, that there were no data about acts of violence.

As for the foreign instigators of these actions, they certainly wished the authorities would interfere in the holding of these gatherings and that the participants would be arrested, then they would have gloated over KGB terror and about a lack of real openness in the Soviet Union.

What happened on Sunday in Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn has become another indication of the genuine and consistent line for openness, for democratization. The authorities made no effort to disperse the gatherings, in fact they had to protect the gatherings as tens of thousands of other residents of these three Baltic capitals gathered in streets and on public squares to demand a stop to these anti-Soviet actions. Will these failed provocations be a lesson for those men who prepared them and who pinned great hopes on them?

Western Broadcasts 'Intrusive'

PM250825 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Nikolay Yefimov article: "What Pledges Are Worth"]

[Text] Currently the telephones in the IZVESTIYA editorial office are literally groaning. Readers are calling to ask: What possible assessment is to be made of the intrusive broadcasts by Western radio stations addressed to the inhabitants of the Baltic republics?

As if they have nothing else to do, Voice of America, Free Europe, the BBC, and others are urging Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians from morning to night to take part in a demonstration and pay tribute to the "victims of Stalinism." They suggest the day, the time, and the square for the assembly. Certain U.S. senators are not lagging behind them either. Apparently the legislators have no worries in their own home and are all trying to interfere in someone else's with instructions on what to discuss and how to act. [paragraph continues]

The readers ask: "If this is not interference in the internal affairs of another state, what is it? If it is not the most flagrant violation of the rules and ethics of international relations, then what is it to be called?"

Our compatriots' perplexity is understandable. All these radio stations live on resources received from their governments and parliaments. He who pays the piper also, of course, calls the tune, and bears the responsibility. Only simpletons can believe that all these "voices" operate independently of their governments. Yet the latter, in signing the Final Act in Helsinki, adopted a pledge -- "to refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or foreign affairs" of other states. Take note, "direct or indirect."

People of the older generation will recall how in the twenties the police in a number of Western countries broke into Soviet missions in order to find proof of "Moscow's interference" in their internal affairs. They did not find it. It seems that in the West there are many people who love to live according to the yardsticks of dual morality: What is forbidden for others is permitted for them.

Let us call a spade a spade. In the West they would like to turn our policy of glasnost and democratization against the main achievements of Soviet power and would like to distract us from the affairs which our country is now engaged in. Thus they are erasing their signature from the Final Act. Or they are pretending that they do not remember what they signed in Helsinki. Inflammatory action? Not that alone. There is also a disrespectful attitude to the Baltic peoples here: Like bad pupils they are being told what to do and how to think and feel. A lot of fuss about nothing, really, but it is not only the air waves that it poisons.

The fate of the Baltic peoples has not been easy. For example, Soviet power has been born four times in Latvia. The first time was in November 1917, but within a few months German troops seized all the territory of the republic. The second time was in January 1919. In 1920 German and White Polish troops overthrew the Soviet power there. No one from the West protested. On the contrary the United States and Britain generously transferred millions of dollars and pounds to equip the counterrevolution. The third time was in 1940, and once again within a year German troops were in Latvia. The fourth time was in 1944, when the occupiers were routed.

The Baltic peoples made their choice long ago. And, it is necessary to stress, not just on one occasion. No one will interfere with this choice, however much the "voices" broadcast. And however much they pay for these broadcasts.

'Truth' About Pre-war Lithuania

PM241507 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 2

["Time Link" article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor Rubertas Zhyugzhda, head of the general history department at the Vilnius V. Kapsukas State University: "Several Days In August"]

[Text] In February 1940, in the presidential residence, which stands to this day on a quiet street in Kaunas, Colonel Zhukaytis, adjutant to the president of Lithuania, handed secret instructions to A. Povilaytis, director of the state security department. The latter had to circumvent normal diplomatic channels and go to Berlin and inform the German authorities that President A. Smetona was not only sympathetic toward Hitler, but had instructed Povilaytis to find out whether Germany would agree to take Lithuania under its protection.

When this fact became known (and it was not until the sixties) there were many doubters. Was Smetona capable of betraying the vital national interests of the Lithuanians! — the doubters exclaimed. There was a hint of denial in these exclamations, and this denial was an idealization of both the president himself and the bourgeois past...

Of course, here we are talking about the uninitiated, people who have no connection with politics! Recently I met with the former foreign minister of bourgeois Lithuania, Yu. Urbshis, who has a good memory, by the way, and even he, an experienced diplomat, refused to believe such treachery. You could put the attempt to turn Lithuania into a German appendage down to "red propaganda," but it would stick out like a sore thumb. In the German (FRG) archives the Finnish historian Seppo Millinemi found confirmation of Povilaytis' secret mission and details of his visit.

Why am I harking back to this? The fact is that many events of the late thirties and early forties get, to put it mildly, sparse treatment by our historians, and the analysis of archive materials is inadequate. There is little popular historical literature about this, and, alas, little serious material either. The scholarly historical works are published in tiny editions and are essentially inaccessible to the ordinary reader. I have no intention of accusing the writers of history textbooks of being unconscientious or incompetent, but it is true that there are more generalities than facts in the very important area of the thirties and forties. For people of my generation one assumes this is sufficient: We witnessed the events and participated in them, but for young people (and I have been working with student audiences for many years, so I think I can say that I know their feelings) mere words are not enough — they thirst for facts.

It is curious that in our history department the students' dominant interest is in the roots of Lithuanian statehood and national culture. One could say many interesting things about the work of student archeology groups, about their excavations in Kyarnava, one of the most ancient Lithuanian settlements, and about their concern for preserving historical and cultural monuments. As a specialist on contemporary history I am delighted that young people now have an equally sharp interest in the events of the recent past. How disappointed and irritated young people are by the aforementioned lacunae!

I do not want to overdo it. In the department's library any student can get an answer to his "how?" or "why?" But it must also be said that our "lacunae" are becoming a subject of speculation: Anti-Soviets are basing their work on them. They are misinterpreting the history of international relations in the late thirties and are counting on our ignorance of our own history to provide fertile soil for the development of the seed of untruth.

It is said to have to admit that this period in our state's policy has been inadequately studied. Even what historians know well — for example, the attitude of the British, French, and German ruling circles toward the Baltic region — is not fully covered. What is it supposed to be, foreign history? The conclusion of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact on 23 August 1939 also gives rise to false interpretations. Some people wonder even now: How could the Soviet Union believe the fascists?

This pact has a direct bearing on the destiny of the Baltic republics and it is appropriate here to mention again the secret mission by state security department director Povilaytis to the rulers of the Reich and their answer: Hitler's Germany will make Lithuania a protectorate before September 1940, at any rate not later than the end of the war in the West.

In the late thirties and early forties, the period I am studying as a historian, I was not yet 20. I was a student at Kaunas University. It seems to me that we were less carefree than young people today -- the hot breath of war could also be felt in Lithuania. Many people were saying that it was time to restore the Vilnius region to the Lithuanians. So what one had to do was to prepare for a campaign...

Later I found out: On 30 August 1939 a map of Germany was hung up in Shmidt's bookstore in Klaypeda on which Lithuania, Poland, and part of Latvia were now part of the Reich. This, in fact, is the answer to the question of what would have happened to Lithuania if the Red Army had not forestalled the Hitlerites in September 1939.

Later I found out that following the start of World War II, on 25 September 1939, Hitler had signed secret directive No 4 which said: "In East Prussia maintain in combat readiness enough forces for a rapid capture of Lithuania, even in the event of armed resistance on its part."

At the time I happened to read a copy of the Lithuanian Communist Party newspaper TIESA, then an underground publication. I forget exactly what articles there were about Lithuania's international position and who wrote them, but I remember the feeling that we were in for some trouble. The source was not the Soviet Union. It was in favor of the return of Vilnius and the Vilnius region to Lithuania. On 10 October 1939 this territory was handed over to Lithuania.

The Soviet Government reckoned that the city of Vilnius, which Poland had taken from Lithuania by force, should belong to Lithuania, as the city with which, on the one hand, the history of the Lithuanian state and, on the other hand, national aspirations were associated. These lines are from the communique at the extraordinary fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in 1939.

Lithuania, which plowed and sowed and made a living through hard work, had always been able to distinguish clearly between its friends and enemies. Sympathies were on the side of the Soviet Union. Anti-Soviet propaganda was becoming more and more rabid, censorship was getting tighter and not a word of truth was getting through about the Soviet land, there were restrictions on sales of Soviet periodicals, and there were regular provocations against Soviet units -- nevertheless, Lithuanian working people were sympathetic toward Soviet people. I will not say that the same sympathies could be seen among the bourgeois intelligentsia, although there were a considerable number of sober-minded people there. They could not help noticing the pro-German mood in the Smetona leadership. There is the curious evidence of Lithuanian Foreign Ministry Political Department Director E. Turauskas: "One day I was in the countryside listening to our radio. I had the impression I was listening to a German radio station, and it was only after about 15 minutes that I realized it was Kaunas radio station."

When I teach my special course students about the position of Lithuania at that time I try not to convey to them the facts that are known to me, but to teach them to look for the answer: Why did a particular event occur? Whom did it benefit? What were the aims of the party or government?

For example, what were the Soviet state's aims when it proposed the stationing of British and French naval forces and army contingents in the Baltic countries, close to the Soviet state border? (That was at the military missions' talks in August 1939). Why did Britain and France reject this and totally refuse to discuss the question of defending the Baltic states?

One can name thousands of reasons now, but history is based on facts. The facts show that all states were seeking their own interests in the Baltic area. But the Soviet Union, as well as its own interests in strengthening the security of the state border, was concerned about the interests of the Baltic states themselves. No one apart from the Soviet Union gave the Baltic countries guarantees and promised to support them in the event of an attack from outside. On 27 May 1939 the Soviet Government was handed a British and French proposal that the three countries sign a treaty which did not envisage the organization of concrete mutual assistance. Nor did it even mention aid to the Baltic states in the event of aggression. The Soviet Government was forced to declare this draft treaty unacceptable. At subsequent talks they obstinately failed to include Lithuania among the states which should be given guarantees, and it was the British who were obstinate the longest.

In the world history of "diplomatic battles" you will find few tenser times than August 1939. Judge for ourselves: The talks with Britain and France were in deadlock, and it was clear that one could not count on their support in the struggle against Hitlerism. At the same time, fascist Germany, which was not yet ready to do battle with us, was trying very hard to get a nonaggression agreement with the Soviet Union.

On 14 August 1939 J. Ribbentrop instructed the German ambassador in Moscow, F. Schulenburg, to inform V.M. Molotov that German had no aggressive intentions toward the USSR and that between the Baltic and the Black Sea there were no issues which could not be settled by peaceful means. Clarifying the German position, Ribbentrop pointed out that this included such issues as the Baltic Sea, the Baltic countries, Klaypeda, and so forth.

We were seeking agreement at the military missions' talks and were in no hurry to reply.

On 18 August Ribbentrop instructed Schulenburg to convey to the Soviet Government the outline of a nonaggression pact and to declare and readiness to sign a special protocol regulating the interests of both sides on particular foreign policy issues, for example, the "regulation of the sphere of interests in the Baltic Sea basin, issues relating to Baltic statehood," and so forth.

The talks involving the Soviet, British, and French military missions reached deadlock.

Ribbentrop flew to Moscow in the Fuehrer's personal aircraft. In his report on the flight the senior pilot wrote, among other things: "As we were coming in to land with the engines switched off I could hear Ribbentrop talking to the advisers accompanying him: 'The game we are to play promises to be a hard one. We have to dispel the Soviet leaders' distrust -- they will remain our enemies tomorrow, as they are today. The time will come when the swastika will be on display here in place of the hammer and sickle.'"

From the report by F. Gaus, head of the German Foreign Ministry Legal Department:

"Ribbentrop was about to embark on a lengthy speech and he said that the spirit of fraternity linking the Russian and German peoples... Molotov interrupted him: 'There can be no fraternity between us, if you want we will talk about figures.'"

"Four days after the signing of the pact, on 28 August, at a conference in the Reich chancellor's office Hitler would demand that it be explained to all party members that the nonaggression pact with the USSR was only a temporary measure which did not alter Germany's hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union."

On 17 September our troops launched the liberation campaign in the western Ukraine and western Belorussia and the Vilnius region. The Red Army's actions took fascist Germany by surprise. At the September talks in Moscow Germany was forced to relinquish its claims to the Baltic states and western Ukraine. At the request of the Soviet Government the Hitlerite forces quit the parts of the western Ukraine and western Belorussia they had already occupied. German Ground Forces Chief of Staff General Halder called the day the decision was taken to withdraw the troops a "day of shame for the German political leadership."

It is many years since I and many thousands of Kaunas residents greeted the troops of the Red Army as they entered the city. I am not lying when I say that the vast majority of Lithuanians greeted them cordially. It was the majority who have a simple definition of what is truth and what is lies: He who does not wish the people ill is for the truth, and vice versa. I must mention also that there were also people there who would have liked to have seen Hitler's regiments entering the city, not Red Army units. Perhaps they regret to this day that the Baltic republics are not under the German jackboot. Only today they dress their regrets in respectable words...

Either they do not know the truth or they do not want to know it. Fascist Germany's true intentions became clear later. In 1942 Himmler, writing about the "Ost" plan, wrote, in part: "This 20-year plan will include the total Germanization of Estonia and Latvia... The situation with Lithuania is worse. We cannot expect to Germanize the population to the same extent. Moreover, we must work out a general plan for the colonization of the territory. And that must be done."

That is the truth.

Nazi-Soviet Pact Defended

LD211624 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 21 Aug 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 23 August 1939 the Soviet Union concluded a 10-year nonaggression treaty with Germany. After this, mutual aid treaties were concluded between the USSR and the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Mavrik Vulfson, political observer for Latvian television, comments:

[Vulfson] On the eve of 23 August tears are again shed in the West about the Soviet-German treaty, claiming it was that treaty which unleashed World War II. This year the campaign of reproaches is accompanied by appeals by various radio voices to the populace of the Baltic republics to commemorate 23 August as a day of sorrow, a day of prayer for the victims of the treaty.

But I would say, for the older generation of our republic, that 23 August 1939 is seen in a different light. I do not deny, when we heard of the treaty, when we saw this photograph there was a feeling of unexpectedness, there was perplexity, even bitterness. [video shows photograph of Stalin with Ribbentrop and Molotov] How could this be, the Soviet Union with fascist Germany?

Then came the understanding of the need for this forced, somehow tragic decision to conclude a nonaggression treaty with Ribbentrop and Hitler. We realized this was not selfishness: this was not a pact on dividing the world, as is claimed to this day by the Soviet Union's enemies in the West.

We had already experienced Spain, Abyssinia, the annexation of Austria, the seizure of Czechoslovakia and Klaipeda; we knew of the shameful deal in Munich; we knew of the colossal efforts by Moscow to create a united front of democratic countries against Hitlerite Germany and fascist aggression.

Therefore, we understood that the Soviet Union consented to conclude the treaty with Berlin only when all hope for a collective rebuff collapsed and when the fascist Wehrmacht had prepared for its move on Poland and for a strike on the Baltic region. In other words, the treaty was concluded in an hour of menace.

But it was difficult to overrate the importance of this step. Indeed, the treaty made it possible to delay the fascist invasion for 2 years. The treaty had particular importance for Latvia. It was precisely the refusal by Western powers, together with the profascist government of Ulmanis, to give Latvia and the other Baltic republics collective guarantees of the three powers that became the principal stumbling block in the Moscow talks between the USSR, Britain, and France. This refusal in fact meant a direct invitation for Hitler to seize with impunity the Baltic region, and to turn it into a German colony and a bridgehead for aggression against the USSR.

Under such conditions, the conclusion of the Soviet-German treaty and the treaties on mutual assistance concluded later between the USSR and all the three Baltic republics created a barrier against the striving of local profascist governments to turn their countries into Third Reich protectorates. It is precisely in that way that the treaty of 23 August was seen by the broadest strata of the Latvian public, which were convinced that during fateful years of hardship the place for Latvia was on the side of the Soviet Union and on the side of all anti-Hitlerite forces.

It is a telling fact that precisely in those days General Janis Balodis, minister of defense of the profascist Latvia, said, I quote: Germans would willingly turn us into a protectorate but this would mean our undoing. This is what the entire Latvian people think.

These are words of Janis Balodis and I think that in light of these words, those who are today urging lament of the treaty and its so-called victims are also coming out against their own people.

VATICAN REPORTS ARREST OF LATVIAN PROTEST LEADERS

LD241504 Vatican City International Service in English 1345 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] From Riga in Latvia: A Latvian human rights activist said today that Soviet police raided an apartment in Riga and arrested the leaders of a nationalist demonstration that ended yesterday in a confrontation with authorities. Eleven members of the Latvian Helsinki Watch Human Rights Group reportedly were questioned for several hours at a local police station. The group members were amongst the thousands of Latvians, Lithuanians, and Estonians protesting against the 48th anniversary of a Nazi-Soviet Pact. The 1939 treaty paved the way for the unhindered Soviet takeover of the three Baltic republics. Soviet media has denounced the demonstrations as provocations by Western radio broadcasts and emigre organizations.

Journalist Confirms Demonstrations

LD241649 Hamburg DPA in German 1528 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Excerpt] Stockholm (DPA) -- The demonstrations in the three Baltic capitals to mark the 48th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact have been confirmed by the chief editor of the Estonian daily EESTI PAEVALEHT, which comes out in Stockholm. Juhan Kokla told DPA today that between 7,000 and 10,000 people demonstrated in the Latvian capital of Riga; in Tallin (Estonia) there were around 2,000 demonstrators, he said; and in Vilnius (Lithuania) around 250 people gathered.

In Riga a large police presence is said to have intervened several times to prevent the demonstrators from laying flowers in front of the monument to freedom. Representatives of Baltic exile organizations reported that a dozen people were temporarily detained. Kokla stressed that the reporting of the events in the Soviet media had been "unusually detailed." Repeated attempts by Lithuanian exile circles to establish telephone contact with Vilnius on Sunday and Monday were repeatedly interrupted, said the Baltic World Council in Strasbourg. [passage omitted]

New Protests in Riga, Vilnius

LD241947 Hamburg DPA in German 1652 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow (DPA) -- According to a member of the "Helsinki 86" group, there have been demonstrations in Riga again today. However, the protest action was far smaller in extent than on Sunday, said Juris Zejmelis [name as received] in a telephone conversation with DPA in Moscow. People who were not able to take part in the demonstration on the previous day gathered at the Freedom Memorial in the city center and laid flowers. Zejmelis spoke of 7,000 - 10,000 demonstrators on Sunday.

"We call for the publication of the secret additional protocol to the German-Soviet Treaty (of 1939) in the press and redress for historic injustices," Zejmelis said. He stressed that the call for the publication of the additional protocol has long been made by the Baltic states. But now the Soviet media are trying to depict the demonstrators as only doing the dirty work for Western radio stations.

Soviet officials have not so far replied to letters setting out the concerns of the Latvians. Zejmelis excluded the possibility of further demonstrations in Riga.

While dissident circles in Moscow spoke of several thousand participants in the Lithuanian city of Vilnius, the government paper IZVESTIYA stressed today that only 200-250 demonstrators took part in the anti-Soviet gathering. Half of them were purely inquisitive. In the Estonian capital, Tallin, the official depiction was also of just a few hundred inquisitive people. According to information from Moscow dissident circles, however, the demonstration was officially allowed there.

SUPREME SOVIET ISSUES DECREE ON AIDS TESTING

LD251021 Moscow TASS in English 0948 GMT 25 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 25 TASS -- The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR has adopted a decree on measures to prevent infection with the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) virus.

The document says that "the citizens of the USSR, as well as foreign citizens and stateless persons living or staying in the territory of the USSR, may be bound to take a medical test for the AIDS virus".

"If they dodge taking the test voluntarily, the persons, in relation of whom there are grounds for assuming that they are infected with the AIDS virus, may be brought to medical institutions by health authorities with the assistance in the necessary cases of authorities from the Interior Ministry".

The decree stipulates that if they dodge taking the test, foreign citizens and stateless persons may be expelled from the USSR.

It says that "deliberate exposure of another person to the danger of being infected with AIDS shall be punished with up to five years in prison", while "the infection of another person with AIDS by a person aware of having AIDS shall be punished by up to eight years in prison".

The USSR Council of Ministers has been instructed "to take every essential measure to develop broad international cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral footing for preventing and limiting the spread of AIDS".

GARETOVSKIY APPOINTED GOSBANK CHAIRMAN

PM241018 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Aug 87 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Nikolay Viktorovich Garetovskiy chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Viktor Vladimirovich Dementsev from his duties as chairman of the board of the USSR Gosbank in connection with his retirement.

NEW BANK CHAIRMAN APPOINTED BY COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

LD241856 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow, 24 Aug (TASS) -- The USSR Council of Ministers has appointed Mikhail Zotov as chairman of the Board of the USSR Industrial Construction Bank, Aleksandr Obozintsev as chairman of the Board of the USSR Agro-Industrial Bank, Viktor Bukato as chairman of the Board of the USSR Housing and Public Utilities and Social Development Bank, and Aledsandr Burkov as chairman of the Board of the USSR State Workers' Savings and People's Credit Bank.

VOROTNIKOV CHAIRS RSFSR PRESIDIUM SESSION

PM211601 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Unnamed own special correspondent report: "At the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A session of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Presidium held on 17 August examined the republic's scientific and technical program entitled "Enhancing the Technical Standard of the Production, Quality, and Reliability of Goods in the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Period through the Year 2000."

After discussing the measures taken by the RSFSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry to improve financial and economic activity, the presidium noted that the ministry apparatus is being too slow to restructure its work in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress demands. Despite the increase in the price of construction materials effected at the beginning of 1982 the number of loss-making enterprises has increased by 50 percent during these years and actual losses have increased by 80 percent, amounting to R97 million last year.

The presidium instructed the ministry to remove the shortcomings detected and took note of the fact that additional measures designed to eliminate loss-making production in 1987-1988 have been drawn up and will be implemented.

Progress in harvesting grain and other agricultural crops and feed procurement on RSFSR kolkhozes and sovkhoses were also examined. It was noted that some vehicles are still under repair in a number of oblasts despite improved preparation of equipment and transport as a whole in the republic and that existing equipment is being utilized unsatisfactorily.

Serious shortcomings in feed procurement were also brought to light. A considerable area of sown and natural grasses has still not yet had its first cut harvested. The second cut is being carried out too slowly. Not everything has been done to ensure the prompt harvesting and laying down in silos of corn, a good crop of which is expected everywhere.

The presidium instructed the republic agro-industrial committee and local soviet bodies to take urgent measures to ensure prompt harvesting and storage of all the grain and feed crop grown and absolute fulfillment of the target for grain sales to the state.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

GOSTEV VIEWS FUNDING, ACCOUNTING REFORMS

PM231731 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Aug 87 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with USSR Finance Minister B.I. Gostev by correspondent V. Parfenov: "Restructuring and Finance. We Talk About the Role and Tasks of Central Economic Organs under New Management Conditions"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Since the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum all the party's program documents concerning the economic life of the country have actually raised questions of strengthening finance. Now that more and more groups of sectors are going over to conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet], radical reform is also taking place in the financial and economic mechanism itself. USSR Finance Minister B.I. Gostev talks about this today with PRAVDA correspondent V. Parfenov.

[Parfenov] Boris Ivanovich, in the olden days our peasants used to have a saying: "No money -- don't build." Some people now say: "Money is our only commodity not in short supply." Or even: "We have plenty of money in the treasury, only we have to know how to 'get at' it." You became USSR finance minister relatively recently. The Central Committee June Plenum devoted particularly great attention to problems of strengthening finance. With what restructuring beginning in the work of the Finance Ministry -- one of the most important central economic departments?

[Gostev] Fundamental restructuring of all financial and economic work in the national economy will end the thriftless attitude to public wealth, including money. Radical reform is vitally necessary here.

Indeed, we groundlessly belittled the role of finance for many years. The active role of finance and credit levers in society had been virtually lost. The oversimplified view of finance and its treatment as a secondary sector sharply weakened the positions of economic accountability [khozraschet] and led to freeloading. It is always easier to beg than to earn. Increased construction and prime production costs and the failure of many enterprises to fulfill profit plans became a widespread phenomenon. The proportion of loss making enterprises in industry alone in 1986, chiefly owing to bad production and labor organization, reached 13 percent. This figure spotlights, as it were, all the negative phenomena in the economy and finance with which we are now having to deal. Because this is essentially a direct deduction from the national income, and a sizable one!

The established system of centralized management proved incapable of regulating financial relationships in the national economy by economic methods, was too regimented, and frequently relied on willful decisions. All that taken together predetermined the party's resolute policy of cardinal restructuring of the finance and credit system. Right now is the very time when, to use Lenin's words, "we must at all costs achieve sound financial transformations."

[Parfenov] Which directions of restructuring in the financial sphere do you consider the top priority?

[Gostev] What is needed is not a formal approach to the present stage of improving the financial mechanism. Any innovations, big or small, must be approved according to the touchstone of the USSR Law on the Enterprise. It enshrines the strategy for the restructuring of finance. Everything that runs counter to the spirit and letter of that law must be resolutely rejected.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a package of documents on improving the management of the economy, finalized with regard for the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum and the USSR Supreme Soviet session. They include a document which defines directions for the restructuring of the financial mechanism. Briefly, it is essentially the fundamental restructuring of finance management based on broad democratization and the granting of financial priorities to economic initiative, full economic accountability [khozraschet], and self-financing with a simultaneous increase in responsibility for the end results of economic management.

These points are being materialized in an integral system of urgent measures. Next year a qualitatively new step is to be taken toward full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. A further 22 ministries will go over to the new conditions, and 30 sectors in all will be working under the new conditions. In industry alone they will account for approximately 60 percent of the production volume.

This has required us to tackle in earnest the transfer of centralized finance management to economic methods. I would emphasize that these are not just words. It is a question of introducing economic normatives -- stable, steady normatives not liable to be amended by anyone -- into financial relations everywhere. As a result, enterprises will clearly see their financial prospect and display greater initiative and enterprise.

[Parfenov] PRAVDA is receiving reports that certain ministries are not always objective in setting normatives for the rate of deductions from profit. As a result, it is said, little money remains at the enterprise's disposal.

[Gostev] Earned profit is becoming the chief source of labor collectives' production and social development. After an enterprise has fulfilled its pledges to the state and the higher economic organ, no one -- neither financial organs nor ministries -- will be able to take earned funds away from the collective. If more profit is earned, there will be greater potential for developing production and satisfying social needs. If less, spending also falls accordingly. Full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing must radically change the attitude to the use of financial and other resources. Under the new conditions people at an enterprise will think again before acquiring unnecessary equipment or buying spare materials. Is this not the cost-cutting mechanism in action?

This is one side of the question. On the other hand, it would be wrong to picture the matter as though the switch to self-financing will relieve enterprises of financial commitments to the state. The USSR law states this clearly.

The desire to leave as much profit as possible really meets with the support of certain economic planners. If we were to take this path everywhere, the state would have nothing with which to finance public consumption funds, defense, and other needs of the country. Clearly, it is not out of place to reiterate that the restructuring of finance means that enterprises must be concerned not only for themselves but also for the state and its budget. This is an objective reality.

Here is how relations will take shape with the budget of enterprises of the machine-building complex in 1988. Payments into the budget as a whole total R9.2 billion, of which payments for resources account for R4.5 billion. At the same time, the greater part of the profit -- R11.6 billion, or 56 percent -- remains at the collectives' disposal. I believe that such distribution of profit meets the requirements of the USSR Law on the Enterprise.

I would particularly emphasize that financial relations in economic management will be restructured from next year based on economic methods, the practical introduction of a system of resource payments will begin, and that financial cooperation between soviets and economic organs will take new forms.

[Parfenov] Is it possible to say now that the restructuring of finance is proceeding at a good enough pace?

[Gostev] It will be very difficult to solve financial problems. It will take time and great organizational work by party, soviet, and economic organs and labor collectives. It is a common cause.

The restructuring of finance has affected all spheres of activity. Economic leaders and soviets have begun devoting more attention to questions such as prime cost and increased profits and profitability. These concepts are met more frequently in everyday economic and organizational activity. As is known, many associations, enterprises, and sectors are now working under the new conditions.

But, unfortunately, this is true far from everywhere. Owing to the inadequate level of production organization and sometimes even the economic incompetence of certain economic leaders and their inability to work in the new way, a number of enterprises are in a grave financial position.

It is clear that the matter cannot be rectified without the radical restructuring of the entire system of training and retraining leading cadres and their professional orientation toward economic methods of management. It is very important to fully realize the very important principle on which the USSR Law on the Enterprise is founded -- to base one's spending on earned funds and on one's own economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] income and to learn to live within one's means. This will constitute real restructuring of financial work in full accordance with the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum.

[Parfenov] Boris Ivanovich, many economic planners are still firmly convinced that not every enterprise can work profitably. What must be done to dispel that conviction?

[Gostev] Some of our people still hope for free state aid and outright budget finance to cover financial hitches. I must say that there is no future in this. There is an unambiguous answer to this: If necessary, an enterprise is able to obtain credit from a bank, but it will have to work it off and repay it on time. I believe that is fair. Under the new conditions the finance and credit mechanism must actively help to enhance the efficiency of economic management and to increase incomes, and not cover up losses and mismanagement, as was frequently the case before.

I must also say that demands on economic leaders for non-loss-making work and for preserving their own working capital must now be made as strict as possible. Full economic accountability [khozraschet], self-capitalization, and self-financing will remain just a wish unless society is guaranteed against mismanagement. We have sectors -- the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources and the USSR Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, for example -- where loss making has become almost the norm. Therefore we are faced with a real struggle to eliminate the mentality which believes that loss-making production processes are inevitable, and we have to organize people's labor better and update production.

[Parfenov] You said that, when necessary, an enterprise can obtain credit from a bank, but the chief thing is to earn it and repay it in good time. How is the role of credit to be enhanced under the new conditions of economic management?

[Gostev] In order to picture more clearly the significance of credit, I will give just one figure. Banks issue credits to the value of approximately R500 billion annually. Credit makes up for the shortage of enterprises' funds for production and social development. It helps to accelerate scientific and technical progress and to extend the range and improve the quality of products.

This is why it is so important to organize businesslike relations of partnership between enterprises and banks. These relations must be of an economic nature, that is, involving reimbursement and payment. However, many associations take an irresponsible attitude to payment discipline and violate payment deadlines. On 1 June 1987 enterprise debt reached R38 billion, and overdue arrears on bank loans accounted for approximately half of that sum.

The creation of specialized banks will make it possible to resolve in a prompt and skilled manner all questions of providing credit for national economic sectors and to take more fully into account the special features of their economic and financial activity.

[Parfenov] I would like to know how the USSR Ministry of Finance itself is being reorganized.

[Gostev] An appropriate question. The Finance Ministry is entrusted with organizing the overall leadership of finance and implementing the state's unified financial policy. These scant phrases conceal a huge volume of work.

Jointly with the Gosplan and other economic departments the Finance Ministry is drawing up a special program to improve the financial health of the national economy. This is an urgent matter.

The transition to the new conditions of economic management is being made "on the march," as the saying goes. Therefore, not only we but also ministries, departments, union republic councils of ministers, and every labor collective will have to work hard to find the necessary resources to improve finances, without slackening efforts to fulfill the 5-year plan targets.

In short, there is plenty to do, but we realize that this is just the beginning. The chief thing still lies ahead. All the more so as there are still many shortcomings in the work of financial organs locally, as well as in the central apparatus. Restructuring requires a decisive change in the work style, forms, and methods of the USSR Finance Ministry and its organs. Decisive measures are being taken to rule out petty regimentation and tutelage of enterprises on the part of financial organs and to ensure strict observance of the rights envisaged by the USSR Law on the Enterprise.

All -- financiers, bank workers, economic organs -- must change their work style and methods. We must all organize our relations in a businesslike way, act as partners with an identical interest in the common cause, and respect mutual pledges.

[Parfenov] In conclusion, please say a few words about the role and tasks of the guardians of financial discipline -- the accountants, who also used to be called the "miser patrol."

[Gostev] The USSR Finance Ministry cannot let slide the question of financial and bank control or, put another way, ruble control over the results of economic management. By adopting the USSR Law on the Enterprise, our state undertook a major and unprecedented broadening of enterprises' rights. However, this certainly does not mean that financial control and accounting must be weakened in the national economy. Relying on the new methods of economic management, financial organs, banks, departmental control and audit services, and our accountants must stand guard over socialist property and make active use of financial and credit influence on preserving and augmenting public wealth.

At the same time, the place of financial control must also be correctly determined. Fewer checks must be made, but their quality must be higher. The role of accounting is now being sharply enhanced. Economic accountability [khozaschet] itself is undoubtedly the best controller, but a considerable role here is allocated to the economists -- the enterprise financiers and accountants. Underestimation of this sector sometimes results in irreparable losses. Last year, for example, figure padding, illegal expenditure, embezzlements, and other serious omissions were brought to light at almost every other enterprise checked.

The success of our common cause depends to a considerable degree on financiers, accountants, controllers, and auditors, and this is a great army of workers -- more than 2.4 million people. We will all have to do a lot of hard work to implement in practice the program guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum, to resolutely restructure the financial mechanism, and thereby to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN REPORTS FEED HARVEST STATUS

PM241059 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 22 Aug 87 p 1

[Zootechnician M. Glinka agricultural review: "How Will We Spend the Wintering Period?"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has reported that as of 17 August the country's agricultural enterprises had laid in 70.4 million tonnes of feed units -- 46 percent of the planned quantity -- and 8.11 quintals per standard head of cattle.

Outside it is late August yet not even half the planned quantity of coarse and succulent feed has been accumulated. Although all the union republics, except for the Transcaucasus republics and Tajikistan, have already fulfilled the plan for laying in cured hay (the Ukrainian farms have fulfilled it by 145 percent, the Uzbekistan farms 148 percent, and the Turkmen farms 152 percent) and all the Baltic republics have moreover coped with the targets for the procurement of hay, the state of affairs throughout the country causes no satisfaction. Of the 20-25 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock necessary for the stabling period, the Lithuanian crop farmers have laid in only 13.44 quintals, the Latvian farmers 10.55 quintals, and the Estonian farmers 10.33 quintals. Those are the results of the leaders. As for the laggards, for Ukrainian farms proportionate stocks of feed are only 6.45 quintals and for Moldavian farms 5.56 quintals of feed units.

In the RSFSR the most reliable stocks -- 12.9 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock -- have been created in Tomsk Oblast while the figure for Kaluga Oblast is 12.1 quintals. But in Belgorod, Voronezh, Kurgan, Sverdlovsk, Tyumen, and Irkutsk Oblasts feed stocks contain only 5.1-5.5 quintals of feed units per head of livestock while in the Buryat, Tuva, and Yakut autonomous republics the figure is 2.4-2.8 quintals. [passage omitted]

EASTERN GRAIN HARVEST PROGRESS REPORTED

PM211029 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 20 Aug 87 p 1

[N. Osyckin "Agricultural Review": "Harvest In the East"]

[Text] The harvest on the country's fields is approaching its zenith, later than usual this year, it is true. Bad weather in many areas has retarded the development and ripening of grain and we must now repair the omission and take additional measures to accelerate the harvesting, shipment, and procurement of grain and other output and fulfill the state plans and the Food Program targets.

According to the USSR State Committee for Statistics, as of 17 August 50.9 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (apart from corn) had been cut on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And 43.2 million hectares had been threshed. This represents 40 percent of the crops. In the past week the area of totally harvested fields totaled 11 million hectares.

The harvest is coming to an end in the Northern Caucasus, the Ukraine, and the Central Chernozem Zone. The mass harvest has been launched in Belorussia and the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR. It has now crossed the borders of the Urals and the Volga region. The crop farmers of Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan have now reached the front line of the struggle for the grain of the second year of the 5-year plan, and this is no coincidence. One in three hectares of our grain fields lies in the east of the country. This means that the fate of the state's food resources depends on how agro-industrial complex workers in these vast regions bring in the harvest.

The harvest in the Urals and beyond has been raised under complex weather conditions. The crop farmers have done their utmost to ensure the maximum return from the eastern fields despite the difficulties, and many collectives have achieved this. In Suzunskiy, Ordynskiy, and Cherepanovskiy Rayons, Novosibirsk Oblast, the fields of winter rye are yielding 30 quintals of grain per hectare. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz machine operators in Kulunda and Barabinsk zones have driven the combines out onto the wheat fields. The farms in Tatarskiy Rayon were the first in the oblast to begin selling wheat -- the main food crop -- to the state.

The threshing of 500,000 hectares of grain crops has been carried out in Altay Kray. Farms in Sovetskiy, Smolenskiy, and Biyskiy rayons, where there is a good harvest of rye, peas, oats, and wheat, tackled the harvesting in a well-organized fashion. But the first days of the harvest campaign also revealed serious shortcomings. Equipment was not fully prepared in the kray, where nearly 4.2 million hectares have to be harvested. For example, it is only in Petropavlovskiy Rayon that all the reapers are in good repair. The remaining rayons have been tardy with this work. More than one-half of the grain cleaning machines are not in working order on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of Shipunovskiy, Troitskiy, and Togulskiy rayons. People's controllers have revealed instances of bad management and window dressing by a number of leaders and specialists responsible for preparing equipment for the harvest. Some of them have been punished.

Farms in Kurgan, Perm, Tomsk, and Tyumen Oblasts and Buryat and Tuva ASSRS are embarking on the harvest campaign with major flaws. One in ten combines there has not been repaired and there is a large number of faulty harvesters, trucks, grain cleaning machines, and drying machines. These shortcomings must be eliminated without delay and all harvesting machines must be commissioned in order to reduce harvesting time to the minimum and prevent grain losses.

The hot weather has accelerated the ripening of the harvest in Kazakhstan. In the southern oblasts the harvest is coming to an end, whereas in the northern oblasts it is only just picking up speed. At the present 4.6 million hectares -- 19 percent of the crops -- of all the grain in the republic have been threshed. This year the virgin land fields offer a contrast. The intensive technology which has been employed this year on 5 million hectares has once again shown its advantages. The harvest from these fields is much larger than from the ordinary fields. But in order not to lose it, it is important to use all equipment in the work and ensure its high productivity. Alas, this has not been understood everywhere. In the republic's northern oblasts thousands of combines have still not been repaired. On some farms here no more than 50 percent are in a state of readiness. We cannot tolerate this practice. Now the best combine operators from the Ukraine and the Northern Caucasus are arriving in the eastern regions to help their colleagues bring in the harvest more quickly and more efficiently. It is the direct duty of the leaders of kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and agro-industrial complexes to provide them with working equipment and create every condition for fruitful labor and life.

Nature has allotted the people of the Urals, Siberia, and Kazakhstan too little time for harvesting, but they have sufficient opportunities to adapt to this and cope in a matter of days and weeks with harvesting and threshing and thus protect the grain from the misfortunes of the fall. The arsenal of farms' collectives contains such proven methods as the duty-tour method of organizing the work of combine operators, the combine and trailer [kombitreylernyy] method of shipping grain, the loading of wheat onto elevators directly from the combines, hourly schedules, and control and centralized services for managing transport.

The grain in the eastern steppes has always been distinguished by its high quality. The farms here can deliver a considerable quantity of durum and strong wheat to the state granary. The Kustanay Kolkhoz named for Chapayev, which last year harvested 31.3 quintals of such grain per hectare on intensive fields, can serve as an example. It is important to specially monitor work with the high-quality wheats from the first days of harvesting and not to allow varieties and batches to be mixed on the threshing floors and elevators and ensure precise assessment and pay for the grain procured. It is the duty of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes to fulfill the state plan and take an active part in above-plan procurements. There are people to emulate. Some of the first in the country to cope with the year's plans for unloading grain were the farms in Voronezh, Belgorod, Lipetsk, Dzhambul, Rovno, Volynka, and Ivano-Frankovsk Oblasts and Azerbaijan. Workers in the agro-industrial complex in the eastern regions can also achieve such successes.

On the threshold of fall a whole complex of urgent operations is being implemented on the fields in August. The harvesting of corn, long-stemmed flax, potatoes, and vegetables is under way. The winter sowing has begun and the fall plowing is under way. May the scope of the competition for the successful harvesting and procurement of grain and other output and the creation of a stable basis for future harvests expand.

CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE RESOLUTION ON GARDENING

LD171305 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 17 Aug 87

[Text] Moscow August 17 TASS -- The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution on developing collective vegetable and fruit gardening.

As of the beginning of this year, the resolution said, there were more than 47,000 gardening associations uniting 6.9 million families of factory and office workers. Overall, about 24 million urban dwellers have got an opportunity to work on soil.

The associations help a lot in providing citizens with foodstuffs. About one million tons of vegetables and potatoes were taken in from collective gardens owned by the associations last year. The harvest of fruits and berries was 700,000 tons. In addition to that, more than 2.5 million tons of potatoes and vegetables were grown on collective plots.

The pace of work on promoting gardening was falling short of the population's demand, the resolution said. "Local government and economic bodies are slow in allocating land for garden plots. Frequently, they are situated far from people's residence. The demand for garden houses, building materials, implements, planting stock and services is not met. The development of collective gardening is being held back by failures in transport services, construction of roads and supply of electricity."

The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee outlined specific measures for the fast development of collective fruit and vegetable gardening. This is regarded as an important socio-economic and political task directed at meeting the sound requirements of the population, as a reserve to improve the national diet.

People's demand for garden plots is to be met within the next two-three years. Their desire to engage in gardening should be encouraged.

It was found expedient to assign the task of handling issues of establishing gardening associations and providing them with necessary materials and equipment to local soviets of people's deputies.

NIKONOV, SLYUNKOV ATTEND AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

LD242033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Aug 87

[Text] A conference was held today in the CPSU Central Committee on further development of highly effective means for plant protection and their rational application in agriculture.

Taking part in the work of the conference were Comrades Nikonov and Slyunkov, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; leaders of ministries, departments, industrial and agricultural enterprises and organisations, of health and environmental protection bodies, and scientists. Comrade Nikonov spoke at the conference.

Attainment of the targets mapped out by the country's food program, he said, is linked with the all-round chemicalization of agriculture. However, there are many shortcomings in the development of highly-effective and ecologically safe preparations and the organization of their industrial production and application. Particular attention has been paid to a fundamental change in the range of chemical plant protection agents, to a sharp increase in their quality, and the development of some of the latest preparations manufactured in our country.

It is up to the USSR Ministry of Mineral Fertilizer Production, with the involvement of other ministries of the chemical complex and of machine-builders, to resolve this task in the first instance by reconstructing existing plant, and by introducing bloc-modular units capable of being quickly reprogrammed.

It is necessary for ministries, departments, and local party bodies to consider the comments and proposals made at the conference, and to take account of them in practical activity.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA DETAILS AIRFIELD SECURITY GAPS

PM241231 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Aug 87 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy article under the rubric "Problem Demands Solution": "In a Domestic Atmosphere..."; first three paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Esteemed editorial office! I want to express my anxiety about our general military training. When we fulfilled our international duty in the DRA, it was as though we had to learn afresh how to handle personal weapons and general tactics. Yet we had to defend the airfield, and during forced landings our helicopter crews fought in the mountains....

Unfortunately, I have observed an underestimation of the general military training of airmen in other air force units too.

Lieutenant Colonel S. Gunner, military pilot 1st class.

I crossed the "border" of a Kiev Military District Air Force garrison without any hindrance -- my military pilot's uniform served as my "pass." I walked toward the airstrip, where warplanes were landing. Nobody asked who I was and why I was there. I went to the headquarters.

"How is airfield security and defense organized?" Lieutenant Colonel A. Budasov, acting commander of the air regiment, repeated my question. "For us this is a critical question of combat training...."

The picture that emerged was almost identical to that painted by Lt Col Gunner in his letter. When pilots were sent from here to fulfill their international duty, classes and an exchange of experience on general tactics were hastily organized and personal weapon firing practices were held. The regiment received quite favorable assessments of their training from the subunit in Afghanistan. Then the airmen themselves sent photographs -- they were standing in armored vests holding submachineguns. Almost indistinguishable from motorized riflemen.

That's over there. When circumstances dictate. What about here, in the "quiet," "domestic" atmosphere?

Major G. Demyanov, acting deputy regiment commander for the aircraft maintenance service, first explained how airfield security and defense is organized in daily combat training: A special plan has been developed for the regiment and the subunits providing flight support services. It lays down who is responsible for what.

The question arose: How does this plan "work"? Major I. Gumakov, acting regimental chief of staff, frankly said: "For us airmen, particularly pilots, general tactics are the dark side of the moon."

How could it be otherwise? During the airmen's combat training general military subjects are studied, as a rule, merely as a matter of form. It is true that during flights airfield security and defense tasks are sometimes given to pilots, engineers, technicians, and mechanics, but they are not fully carried out, to say the least. [paragraph continues]

Here is why. The basic criteria for the airfield's combat readiness are the timely arrival of the airmen at the airfield, the preparation of equipment for flights, and the fulfillment of combat practice tasks in the air. By the way, it is not so easy to get to the airfield in question: There is no regular transport link with the garrison. This question has been awaiting solution for a long time. If, say, a squadron does not scramble within the normative time or someone misses the target during an attack, it means harsh words and deserved censure. Defense of the airfield is considered a secondary matter. If during the summing up someone says: "Part of the airfield was not protected and the airmen were not completely ready to repulse an attack on the airfield" -- no one will pay any attention to this, because they are all used to it. And it is regarded as a matter of course.

When I returned from my trip, I went to see some specialists. Lieutenant Colonel S. Korotych, an officer in a Ground Forces directorate who deals with these problems, replied laconically: A specially trained enemy subunit can quickly put an airfield out of action. "Recently training sessions were conducted on this subject in the Ground Forces," Korotych said, not without alarm. "It cannot be denied that not everywhere were servicemen mentally prepared for a surprise attack on rear installations. There are still serious shortcomings in training the patrol service and counteracting saboteurs."

But such undoubtedly interesting training sessions are not being held at the airfield in question in the Kiev Military District. Airmen rarely fire their personal weapons, and even then only pistols and carbines. The ability to use submachineguns, machineguns, grenade launchers, and handgrenades, and an elementary knowledge of general tactics really are "the dark side of the moon" so far as they are concerned. I am convinced that this applies not only to pilots, engineers, technicians, and mechanics, but also to aviation rear services specialists. The chemical warfare monitoring personnel, military drivers, and servicemen in other professions have only fired their personal weapons a few times throughout their period of service, and none of them has any idea what a foxhole is like...

I talked with Major A. Kovalenko, airfield security commander, about this. He sighed: He himself was raising the problem of subordinates' combat training for the umpteenth time but, unfortunately, to no avail. As before, study plans are drawn up, but the majority of them remain on paper. Airfield security servicemen and also technical personnel and airfield operational personnel do guard duty daily (and sometimes more often), and carry out household chores. For example, there is no one to wash the dishes in aircrew and groundcrew messes since the Soviet Army worker posts have been eliminated. So the servicemen wash the dishes. That's the kind of "combat training" they have.

"As for machinegunners, grenade throwers, and antiaircraft gunners -- many specialists only rank as specialists on paper," Major Kovalenko said frankly. "How can soldiers and also officers and warrant officers learn to shoot accurately if only about 10 cartridges per month are issued to each person for training? That's not all. At least 1 day a week should be allotted to us so that proper classes in combat training can be conducted. This is better than pretending that training is done regularly."

How are the personnel of the separate communications and electronic support battalion helping the airfield in this respect? Its Chief of Staff Major M. Achkasov is also worried:

"Aviation communications servicemen should know how to throw grenades and shoot: It is they who are primarily responsible for defending our small installations, which are sometimes a long way from the airfield. But where can we learn how to throw grenades? Do any of us officers know how to? I, for example, have not had to do this, and many other things, since finishing military school..."

I told the garrison officials how I had "penetrated" the airfield. This did not surprise them: Such shortcomings, they said, do not exist only in our unit. Indeed, pensioner P. Yevseyev from the Baltic republics writes to the editorial office that the fence around an airfield is broken in places. "Perhaps the pilots there are good, but they are not trained to show vigilance on the ground," he complains.

I put these disturbing questions to Colonel P. Samoylov, deputy chief of staff of the Air Force Rear Services.

"Modern airfields have developed," he explained. "There are not only aircraft there, but huge material resources, including highly dangerous materials -- ammunition and aviation fuel -- are also concentrated there. Yet the organization of airfield security and defense remains at the level of the first postwar years. That is why it is possible to understand the difficulties of the company commander who cannot teach subordinates what he is supposed to. By the way, only 10-12 percent of the ammunition for firearms assigned for airmen's training, which Major Kovalenko complained was in short supply, is used."

However, the experience of the Great Patriotic War and the lessons of regional military conflicts show that airfields are subjected to close attention from enemy intelligence services and enemy sabotage and other special groups. The enemy delivered his first surprise strike precisely against airfields. Thus the lax approach to shortcomings in their defense can be explained only by carelessness.

This approach means that the task of airfield security and defense is not specifically assigned to anybody in particular. Pilots consider this to be a matter for ground specialists. "Groundcrew" also have their own ideas of demarcation: The engineering and technical staff point to rear services subunits. The rear services personnel in their turn shift practical concerns onto the small security company without taking into account the size of a modern airfield and the number of installations on its territory.

Restructuring in the actual approach toward solving this difficult problem has begun. Thus in the air forces of the Transbaykal Military District, the effectiveness of defensive engineering installations has been stepped up at airfields. In the Far East, Belorussian, and some other military districts classes have been held for airmen on general tactics, with airborne and motorized infantry subunits taking part. But the facts show that sore points remain.